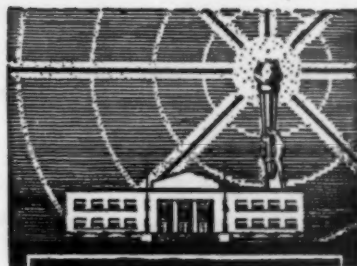


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VOLUME LI, NUMBER 7

DECEMBER, 1960

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809-811 North 19th Street

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# The Social Studies

VOLUME LI, NUMBER 7

DECEMBER, 1960

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## Contents

|   |                               |
|---|-------------------------------|
| As the Editor Sees It   | 242                           |
| Charles A. Beard's Economic Interpretations of the Constitution:<br>A Consensus | <i>J. Radabaugh</i> 243       |
| Teaching Civil Disobedience is in Harmony With<br>Civic Education               | <i>J. L. Barth</i> 250        |
| The Place of the Social Sciences in the European<br>High-School Curriculum      | <i>W. Hahn</i> 252            |
| Sociodrama as a Teaching Technique  | <i>G. Graham</i> 257          |
| The Sociology of the Political Community and Peace                              | <i>A. H. Burrows</i> 260      |
| The Teachers' Page  | <i>Hyman M. Boodish</i> 267   |
| Instructional Materials   | <i>Irwin A. Eckhauser</i> 270 |
| Book Reviews and Book Notes   | <i>David W. Harr</i> 272      |
| Current Publications Received   | 277                           |
| Index for Volume LI   | 278                           |

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EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 809-811 North 19th Street, Philadelphia 30, Pa.

Subscription \$5.00 a year, single numbers 75 cents a copy.

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Published monthly, from October to April inclusive, by McKinley Publishing Co., 809-811 North 19th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

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## As the Editor Sees It

There was a great deal of discussion in the recent election campaign about the possible decline of American prestige abroad. To many people it seemed an unfortunate question to be highlighted in an election that was being watched all over the world, and one that was possibly based upon false conceptions of what is really important.

What is prestige? According to the dictionary, the word derives from a Latin source meaning deception or illusion. We still use the noun *prestidigitator* in this sense. We use "prestige" today commonly to mean esteem, but there is still an illusory overtone about it. It is certainly not an exact synonym for "respect." Webster gives one definition as "the power to charm, dazzle or command admiration," and hence the influence or power derived from such admiration. A top-flight bull-fighter or movie star or even a dictator may properly be said to have great prestige; but they may not necessarily be respected for their inherent character. At the level of national status, is prestige truly what we should be concerned about? Is the influence which it implies to be based on respect for national character and principles, or on such illusory factors as military strength, over-weening arrogance and razzle-dazzle diplomacy? Unquestionably Russia has prestige and the influence that goes with it. But is this what we are seeking, or afraid of losing?

We recently read an editorial in a small weekly newspaper, *The Suburban*, published in Camden County, New Jersey. We think it expresses such a sound point-of-view on this concern for national prestige that we would like to quote from it.

"As American school children in years

past, most of us were taught and sincerely came to believe that the United States stands for such sacred things as individual freedom, self-determination, freedom of religion, freedom from want and fear. It was in the name of such holies that many of us participated in two major wars in the last half-century.

"The United States still stands for these principles, as far as I'm concerned . . . If we have indeed lost 'prestige,' it is, I believe because we have acted too often since the end of World War II in the name of expediency rather than principle.

"In our zeal to fight communism, we have lent support to dictatorship in many countries of the world. In pursuing a now almost meaningless defensive policy of containment . . . we have come to the point where we stand not so much for freedom as against communism . . .

"Whether or not the nations of the world *think* we or the Soviet Union are first in missiles, or first in economic growth is of secondary importance. It is more important to know that we stand for what we believe is right and are prepared to act for what we believe is right . . .

"Let us be what we *can* be, whether by economic ranking it be first or tenth, and let us realize that whatever progress we make at home or abroad should never be made in terms of what is popular so much as what is just."

It is pleasant for a nation or an individual to be popular, to command respect, and to possess power and influence. There is certainly nothing wrong in desiring these things. But let us be sure that we deserve them, through the steadfast and courageous maintenance of a national character of which we ourselves can be proud.



# Charles A. Beard's Economic Interpretations of the Constitution: A Consensus

JACK RADABAUGH  
Torrance, California

Charles Beard has been dead for eleven years, but his restless spirit continues to haunt the world of historians from whence he departed. Men of the history fraternity were not hesitant to challenge Beard during his life time any more than they were reticent about praising him and honoring him for his contributions to this field of learning. This situation has not changed very much in the years since his death, but the intervening period has witnessed a defining and sharpening of some of the issues which, during his life, he manipulated with such delight to impale his colleagues in the arena of controversy.

Beard was a many-sided man, and explored frontiers of knowledge into which many of his academic associates would not venture. However, his principal claim to fame still appears to be his classic work, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*. It will be the purpose of this paper to examine the literature of the past two decades to ascertain, if possible, whether there exists, among those who have reflected upon and written about Beard's thesis regarding the Constitution, any consensus as regards the theory's correctness, incorrectness, or as yet undetermined status.

One obvious approach to this problem would be to consider, in some order, the ideas of those men who agree with Beard, and then consider those who challenge his assertions, with perhaps brief mention of those who, in their printed commentaries, manage to remain impeccably neutral.

Howard K. Beale is perhaps one of Beard's stoutest defenders. In his defense of Beard's writings on the Constitution Beale effec-

tively exposes several issues which complicate analysis of the Beardian view of our fundamental document. Beale asserts that Beard, by his own words, denied that he had ever claimed that the members of the Constitutional Convention were working solely for their own financial benefit. Likewise, Beard denied that it could be shown that the powers conferred by the Constitution were determined in all details by a conflict of economic views.<sup>1</sup> In an effort to relate Beard's writings to his own time Beale points out that Holmes and Pound were applying relativism to theories of law, and that in legal practice Brandeis was acquainting the judges with social realities. Beard was probing the assertion of the judges that they were merely applying the law. It appeared to Beard that the judges were forming the Constitution in terms of what they thought was desirable.<sup>2</sup> Beale touches upon Beard's epistemology when he defends the Beardian position as opposed to the views of Theodore Smith. As regards the Constitution, Beale quotes Beard as saying that Smith violates his own canons of objectivity by failing to indicate the source of the ideas enunciated by the framers and their opponents. Beard also objected to the label "Marxian" for those who indicate economic motivation.<sup>3</sup> Beale then concludes his comments of Beard's constitutional views by stating that Merrill Jensen asserts that available evidence on acceptance of the Constitution renders Beard's thesis an understatement.<sup>4</sup> The economic interpretation could be applied to constitutional origins more extensively even than Beard applied it in 1913.

Indeed, in pursuing this same line of thought George S. Counts refers to Beard's

amazement that economic interest is imprinted on practically every page of the Madison papers. Counts then refers to the outraged academic circles at the release of Beard's *Economic Interpretation* and the fine contribution by Beard in disposing of the sacred myth surrounding the Constitution with the scent of patriotic holiness.<sup>5</sup> He balances this stab somewhat by asserting that when questioned in 1941 regarding his satisfaction with his *Economic Interpretation*, Beard replied negatively and went on to say that the book had been assembled without proper attention to historical perspective.<sup>6</sup>

Merle Curti follows H. K. Beale's approach in dealing with Beard's Constitutional views by making reference to concrete problems connected with the Constitution. One such problem is the question of origin of judicial supremacy. As his basis for discussion Curti considers Beard's review of Andrew McLaughlin's *Constitutional History of the United States*. Curti states that Beard inquires as to why judicial supremacy did not develop in other English speaking countries if, as McLaughlin claims, such supremacy is merely a borrowing from England. Curti Claims that Beard then goes a step further and points out that judicial supremacy may have been designed to counter the legislative supremacy exercised under state constitutions of the Constitutional period. Indeed, perhaps it was the threat to property embodied in the state constitutions which motivated the Convention at Philadelphia. Beard went on to say that evidence exists to indicate that judicial control was a radical departure from the legal practice of the eighteenth century, a foil developed to meet the demands of belligerent democracy as embodied in the state legislatures, and thus was not of noble Anglo-Saxon origin.<sup>7</sup> In using Beard's reviews to illustrate Beard's thinking Curti points to Beard's praise of J. F. Jameson's *American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement*. Beard applauds Jameson's closing of the "romantic and Bancroftian" evaluation of the American Revolution.<sup>8</sup> A parting shot by Curti quotes Beard once again as saying that the Constitution was framed

by lawyers, not farmers, and that it was interpreted by the commercial interests.<sup>9</sup>

Harold J. Laski, a Beard admirer, seems fascinated by Beard's economic views and epistemology but as regards the Constitution says little except that Beard helped to keep the Constitution intelligible by stripping away false gilt.<sup>10</sup>

George R. Leighton launches into the delicate problem of Beard's discussion of concentration of wealth in relation to the Constitution. He points out that Beard was aware of the dread of some of the founding fathers regarding the concentration of wealth into the hands of a few. This pattern had been observed in other lands by the scholars of the Convention, and it had been observed that in foreign lands the concentration of wealth had been accompanied by social upheaval.

At this point Leighton introduces a problem which is to overshadow all of Beard's thinking regarding the American Constitution. What is the relation of James Madison's writings to Beard's thesis? Leighton reviews the remarks of Madison the prophet. The United States would probably have 192,000,000 people by 1930. An intense concentration of wealth would likewise take place. This tendency to concentration might be diminished by "the equalizing of the laws" according to Madison.<sup>11</sup>

Max Lerner is the publicist defender of Beard who abounds in terms such as "massive evidence" and is amused at the fluttering academic doves and the alleged indecency of Beard's book on the Constitution.<sup>12</sup> Lerner points out that the *Economic Interpretation* came out during a period of economic revolt; a period when men such as Brandeis, Holmes, Robinson, and Turner were re-thinking the significance of our past.<sup>13</sup> Lerner sums up Beard's thesis by saying that men of property framed the Constitution acting on personal financial motives in an effort to protect their "personality" holdings against a collapse and against the erosion of democracy. The same men organized and ran the Federalist party and put through the funding measures. The land interests, the farmers,

and the propertyless composed the opposition party which became the basis for what was later to be called Jeffersonian democracy. Lerner states that these views were driven home with "spikes of documentation."<sup>14</sup> Lerner then claims that Beard held the position that the founding fathers definitely intended judicial review. He ventures the comment that Beard was exposing the factors which underlie "the dynamics of class interest."<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, Madison was aware of the property divergences behind the party system, and John Taylor could see through the emptiness of an aristocracy based on "paper and profit."<sup>16</sup> The last point that Lerner makes in Beard's behalf is that checks and balances were employed for the purpose of securing property.<sup>17</sup>

Though Perry Miller appears to be concerned with the problems of Beard's historiography, like Laski, he limits his comments on the Constitution to praise of Beard's efforts to remove the document from the high priests of the law and to return it to the people who were supposed to have created it.<sup>18</sup>

It is perhaps a more conservative tone which is taken by George Soule. He maintains that Beard found matters of economics and politics inseparable and treated them as such.<sup>19</sup>

William Appleman Williams, though interested more in Beard's search for causation than his views on the Constitution, touches upon topics which, to some extent, bear upon the interpretation of the Constitution. For those who simply discard Beard's view of the Constitution as Marxian, Williams allows that "Anti-Marxism is the opium of the non-Marxists."<sup>20</sup> Williams feels that those who take this position regarding Beard commit an error in equating economic determinism with Marxism. The lack of analogy runs as follows: "Economic determinism is an open ended system of causal analysis. Marxism . . . is a closed system of utopian prophecy."<sup>21</sup>

Williams, along with several other writers, notes the position of James Madison in Beard's work. Williams characterizes Madison as postulating self-interest as the main-

spring of motivation. The results are faction and corruption. Williams ponders Madison's precision of prediction in prophesying the 1929 depression from the time distance of one-hundred years. The author then launches into a rather keen analysis of Morton G. White's biological determinism, Douglas Adair's critique based on Madison's non-economic factors and Beard's Marxian tendencies, and Richard Hofstadter's "psychic crisis" view. Williams appears to agree with Max Lerner in thinking that Beard thought in terms of economic motivation rather than economic determinism.

B. C. Borning and E. F. Goldman take a rather neutral position in discussing Beard's analysis of the Constitution. Borning says simply that Beard claims the Constitution is a balance of interests.<sup>22</sup> Borning is extremely cautious in discussing the influence of Madison and Marx on Beard. E. F. Goldman is a bit more definite in tracing the thinking of A. M. Simons and J. Allen Smith through social Darwinism. He claims that Beard is continuing this attack on the sacredness of institutions. In the end, however, he asks only unanswered questions. How much of Beard's interpretation of the Constitution originates in conscious strategy? How much was it a product of liberal Darwinism? How much came from the scholar working among a body of documents? Perhaps, as Goldman suggests, no one can answer such questions with any degree of exactness.<sup>23</sup>

Probably most interesting of all are the comments of those historians and thinkers who have found serious problems to be met in squaring the views of Charles Austin Beard with what these critics allege to be the facts of the case. Douglas Adair ranks among the more interesting of the modern critics. Adair maintains that Beard adopts Madison's Tenth Federalist to push the argument of class struggle. Basing his position on Madison, Beard then argues that theories are not important in politics. Beard's economic interpretation was part of a movement away from conservatism in 1913. Adair feels that Beard tried to make a Marxist out of Madison by the "grafting of Marx on Madi-



son."<sup>24</sup> Adair then points out that Vernon Parrington, one of Beard's disciples, does not recognize the Tenth Federalist as high quality political speculation. Actually, asserts Adair, the Tenth Federalist of Madison is good eighteenth-century political theory applied to eighteenth-century problems. Later the theory becomes the basis for Jeffersonian democracy.

In his discussion of Max Farrand and Charles Beard, Louis Boudin concentrates on one major point of contention as regards the interpretation of the Constitution. Boudin denies rather strongly that Madison ever intended judicial review under the Constitution. Boudin quotes Madison to the effect that it was not good to have the judiciary department superior to the legislative.<sup>25</sup>

Of all the attacks on Beard's economic interpretation of the Constitution perhaps the most formidable is the one launched by Robert E. Brown. This author criticizes, chapter by chapter, Beard's famous book, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*.

Brown maintains that there are two aspects to Beard's thesis: (1) personalty governed the motives of the framers and ratifiers; (2) the Constitution was an undemocratic document adopted in an undemocratic age. Personalty is defined as referring to holders of securities, bonds, paper money, and other evidences of indebtedness. As opposed to this view, Brown then indicates his own theory which claims that realty was much more important than personalty in colonial society. Most of the people of this period were middle class farmers who owned realty. The result was that the society was democratic because most of the landed farmers had the right to vote. At this particular period in American history property was of far greater significance than personalty. The reason that these farmers voted for the Constitution was that it protected property.

Brown goes to a great deal of trouble to attack Beard's historical method. He states that Beard's presentation involves (1) in some instances no evidence, (2) dependence

upon secondary works based on no evidence, and (3) misrepresentation of some of the evidence.<sup>26</sup>

One problem which Brown indicates is the dating of the securities upon which Beard submitted much of his case and the dates of the Constitutional Convention and the ratification period. The securities were dated 1791. Who held them in 1787? Beard does not say.

Beard's confession that it is impossible to determine the extent of disfranchisement during the ratification period comes as a shock to Brown. Brown feels that determining the extent of disfranchisement is absolutely essential to the "undemocratic" half of Beard's thesis.<sup>27</sup> Brown goes further and states that in Massachusetts most of the farmers could vote.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, the issue of accepting the Constitution was not the bitter struggle Beard claims it to be. Many farmers who could vote did not exercise the privilege. Why this was so is not clearly stated. It was suggested that perhaps the farmers were not interested.

Beard's critic then continues to press the voting question with more evidence. He asserts that Madison held that persons as well as property were essentials of government, and that they had a right to protection.<sup>29</sup> Regarding the problem of voting qualifications, Dickinson of Delaware pointed out that restriction of the vote to freeholders would be popular because most citizens were freeholders. Gouverneur Morris held a similar view since, according to his estimate, nine-tenths of the people were freeholders.<sup>30</sup> Madison sharpened his views on the matter of suffrage by maintaining that to vote was fundamental to a republican constitution. If the right was confined to property, persons would be oppressed; if confined to people, property would be oppressed. The ideal situation was to protect both. Limitation of voting to freeholders violated the principle that those bound by law should help make the law. Madison finally came to the conclusion that if it became necessary to choose between limitations based on property and universal suffrage, then universal suffrage

must prevail. Then Madison agreed with Dickinson and Morris by stating that this country was especially blessed in having great respect for property, mainly because there existed at that time a wide distribution of property, especially land.<sup>31</sup> To sum up, Brown agrees that to understand the Constitution one must be aware of a large group of farmers, representing a vast realty interest, who had to vote for the Constitution if it were to be adopted.<sup>32</sup>

Another point which nettles Brown is Beard's presentation of what Brown and other writers on the subject refer to as the "conspiracy approach." Brown, for example, dislikes Beard's view "That the farmers and debtors actually gained by the adoption of the new government . . . did not alter the fact that the guiding purpose of the Fathers was not the general welfare."<sup>33</sup> Brown rests his case on the assumption that there were too many voting farmers to allow the development of any conspiracy by the personality crowd.

After submitting Beard's evidence and principal conclusions to this detailed scrutiny, Brown turns elsewhere for an explanation of the basic problem posed by Beard. In Alexander Hamilton he finds one who, by implication, suggests that love of power and glory are at least as important to the farmers, and to the audience to which they were appealing, as was love of wealth. Nor did Hamilton rule out policy, utility, and justice as possible motives for action in the formation of the Constitution.<sup>34</sup> Brown feels that perhaps Charles Pinckney made as accurate an appraisal of the period as any contemporary. Pinckney said that the chief characteristics of the people of his own age were equality and mediocrity. Here there were few rich men and few poor men, and no great number was excluded from participation in politics by lack of property. People could be divided into three groups: professional, commercial, and landed. Pinckney felt that the landed interest should govern. He attributed motivation to religious and political prejudices. To Pinckney the real basis of conflict appeared to be divergences between North

and South.<sup>35</sup> Brown says that Washington was probably closer to the truth than Beard in stating that the Constitution was "the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation, and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy."<sup>36</sup>

Brown sums up by saying that to claim that the Constitution was designed in part to protect property is true; to say that it was designed only to protect property is false; and to say that it was designed only to protect personalty is preposterous.<sup>37</sup> In his parting shot Brown says that the Convention delegates believed in protection of property as one function of government. But that is not what Beard claimed. Beard would have been closer to the truth had he argued for property in general instead of personalty.<sup>38</sup>

Henry Steele Commager takes the position that Beard's search for causation in the field of economics, worthy though it may be, tends to make people forget the prime result of the Convention, a Federal Constitution. Commager claims that economic motivation was not a conclusion but a point of departure. It is the consequence and not the cause which is important in this case.<sup>39</sup>

Another Beard admirer, who nonetheless is capable of honest criticism, is Richard Hofstadter. This historian claims that Beard's work is ambiguous. At one time, he maintains, Beard is an out and out economic determinist. At other times Beard's view is more moderate in stating that economic explanations might serve better to indicate the basis upon which the founders progressed than the view which claims that the men of the Convention were moved in their deliberations by some abstract principle of political science.<sup>40</sup>

Cecilia Kenyon takes Beard's interpretation of the Constitution to task as "unrealistic and unhistorical."<sup>41</sup> The author argues that Beard's interpretation has a limited perspective. It tends, among other things, to limit a study of the institutions of the period. Beard's specific theory that



separation of powers was set up to protect property is open to question. A study of the Anti-Federalists proves that the ideological battle was more important than the economic struggle. The Anti-Federalists distrusted human nature quite as much as did the Federalists. They were quite interested in providing checks and balances against self-interest. In fact, the Anti-Federalists wanted the checks spelled out quite clearly. In any case, the Constitution could not be applied to so large a country. Also, representation would distort the will of the people. The Anti-Federalists wanted all segments of society represented, but there were just not enough seats to go round. In any event, a more careful study of the Anti-Federalists would probably indicate that Beard's economic motivation theory was not as important to the opposition group as Beard alleged.

In 1943 another Beard critic, John J. Reed, sums up the Beard position and then indicates some of the commentary elicited to that date. Reed states that, in general, J. T. Adams supports Beard's position regarding the importance of economics in Adam's book *New England in the Republic*. Louis M. Hacker likewise supports Beard's view in his *Triumph of American Capitalism*, especially with respect to the class struggle. H. C. Hockett, on the other hand, attacks Beard's position by implication in his book, *The Constitutional History of the United States 1776-1826*, by emphasizing non-economic factors. A. Baldwin in *The New England Clergy and the American Revolution* indicates the influence of the clergy on America's constitutional development. E. S. Corwin's 1914 review of Beard's book is mentioned. Corwin argued that the security holders were the ones who opposed the Constitution. Corwin also stated that the Convention had the approval of the Confederation and the state legislatures. J. H. Latane indicated that votes on specific items were not analyzed by Beard. For his own part Reed wonders whether motives can be determined accurately, even with more evidence than Beard possessed. Also, he sees in Beard's

interpretation a tendency to read the present into the past. He doubts whether class consciousness actually existed then. Reed takes the middle ground. He admits that economics must be considered in appraising the Constitution but does not feel that economics offers a complete explanation.

Robert E. Thomas approaches Beard's economic interpretation of the Constitution in rather favorable terms in his first article on the subject. In his 1952 paper Thomas devotes his efforts to attacking the view of Samuel E. Morison that Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* was written as an attack on the Supreme Court and a defense of the Populist-New Freedom policies. The author claims Beard tended to be a Federalist in point of view and had nothing but admiration for the founding fathers, the Supreme Court, the Constitution, and Alexander Hamilton. As regards the attack on the Supreme Court, Thomas says Beard meant to destroy the juristic interpretation or theory on the rise of the Constitution. The juristic view holds that the Constitution was created by the whole people and is based on some principle of political science.<sup>42</sup>

In a second article Thomas performs, on a limited scale, the task which R. E. Brown had done for the State of Massachusetts.<sup>43</sup> The Thomas essay is based upon biographies of 167 members of the Virginia ratifying convention of 1788.<sup>44</sup> Thomas points out that Beard's arguments regarding Virginia rest on Orrin G. Libby's *The Geographical Distribution of the Vote of the Thirteen States on the Federal Constitution 1787-1788*. In Virginia, slaves were the principal basis of personalty. On the basis of slave holding Thomas found that the large slave holders and the small slave holders split rather evenly into the Federalist and Anti-Federalist camps. The leaders of both factions came from the same class; slave holders, large land owners, land speculators, army officers, and professional people—in short, the gentry. The conflict, therefore, between Federalist and Anti-Federalist was, for reasons unknown, sectional.

To seek a consensus from historians in the sense of a Gallup Poll or with the precision of an "education questionnaire" is probably neither desirable nor profitable. But in terms of what interests them to the extent that they will write about it there is some possibility of indicating problems that keep recurring in commentaries about Charles A. Beard's economic interpretation of the Constitution.

Most of Beard's admirers praise him for crushing the myth about the Constitution being derived like an equation from some abstract principle of political theory. They may use the terms "myth," or "juristic view," but they are all referring to Beard's realistic "disenshrinement."

Practically all of the commentators say something about Beard's economic determinism. Most of them agree that Beard was not a strict economic determinist in the philosophical sense. All seem to agree, however, that Beard assigns economics the first place among the forces which move the fortunes of men. Some sharpen this consideration by referring to Beard's interest in human motivation as distinguished from interest in economic determinism as such.

A few hold that Beard makes a case for the clash of classes in this period. Others categorically deny this.

There exist two clearly defined schools of thought as to whether or not Beard's thinking was that of a Marxist.

On specific issues there is a clash in thought as to what was intended by the Founders regarding judicial review. Beard's view on separation of powers is challenged. None of Beard's defenders seem to cover him effectively with respect to his views on personalty or the undemocratic nature of the Constitutional period.

A theme which is touched upon by most authors is Madison's place in Beard's economic interpretation. It appears that Madison, like the Bible, can be quoted to serve the interest of any of the contending parties. Perhaps a sharp picture of Madison, even with contradictions, would be helpful in clarifying his position as a political philosopher.

Brown touches upon the most disturbing aspect of Beard's economic interpretation. He points out that although we have a good deal of information regarding the Convention, perhaps it would be interesting to actually know with precision why the Constitution was ratified. Brown implies that Beard's explanation is shallow and he is prepared to prove this in some detail as regards Massachusetts. Thomas indicates that Beard's answer certainly does not fit Virginia. What, then, really happened in Pennsylvania and New York and South Carolina and the remainder of the states which finally ratified the Constitution? Perhaps Beard was right. Perhaps the topic does need some more investigation.

<sup>1</sup> Howard K. Beale, "Charles Beard: Historian," *Charles Beard: An Appraisal*, ed. by Howard K. Beale (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1954), pp. 123-124. Hereafter this work will be cited as H. K. Beale, (ed.), *An Appraisal*. Other authors who contributed to this appraisal who will be considered in this paper include G. S. Counts, M. Curti, R. Hofstadter, H. Laski, G. R. Leighton, M. Lerner, and G. Soule. This book was intended as a testimonial but due to Beard's death became a memorial.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> Howard K. Beale, "Charles Beard: Historian," H. K. Beale, (ed.), *An Appraisal*, pp. 145-146.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153.

<sup>5</sup> George S. Counts, "Charles Beard, the Public Man," *ibid.*, p. 247.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 250.

<sup>7</sup> Merle Curti, "Beard as Historical Critic," H. K. Beale, (ed.), *An Appraisal*, pp. 190-191. Note that R. E. Brown takes a notably opposite view in evaluating the significance of state legislatures.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201.

<sup>9</sup> Merle Curti, "Beard as Historical Critic," H. K. Beale, (ed.), *An Appraisal*, p. 204.

<sup>10</sup> Harold J. Laski, "Charles Beard: An English View," *ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>11</sup> George R. Leighton, "Beard and Foreign Policy," *ibid.*, pp. 168-169.

<sup>12</sup> Max Lerner, "Charles Beard Confronts Himself," *Nation*, April 8, 1936, p. 452.

<sup>13</sup> Max Lerner, "Beard's Economic Interpretation," *New Republic*, May 10, 1939, pp. 7-11.

<sup>14</sup> Max Lerner, "Charles Beard's Stormy Voyage," *ibid.*, October 25, 1948, p. 21. R. E. Brown holds that the landed people were the ratifiers.

<sup>15</sup> Max Lerner, "Charles Beard's Political Theory," H. K. Beale, (ed.), *An Appraisal*, p. 35.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>17</sup> Max Lerner, "Charles Beard's Political Theory," H. K. Beale, (ed.), *An Appraisal*, p. 45.

<sup>18</sup> Perry Miller, "Charles A. Beard," *Nation*, September 25, 1948, p. 346.

<sup>19</sup> George Soule, "Beard and the Concept of Planning," H. K. Beale, (ed.), *An Appraisal*, p. 62.

<sup>20</sup> William A. Williams, "A Note on Charles Austin Beard's Search for a General Theory of Causation," *The American Historical Review*, LXII (October,

1956), 63. Hereafter this work will be cited as W. A. Williams, "Note on Beard," *AHR*.

<sup>21</sup> W. A. Williams, "Note on Beard," *AHR*, LXII (October, 1956), 63.

<sup>22</sup> B. C. Borning, "Political Philosophy of Young C. A. Beard," *American Political Science Review*, XLIII (December, 1949), 1172.

<sup>23</sup> Eric F. Goldman, "Origins of Beard's Economic Interpretation of the Constitution," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XIII (April, 1952), 249.

<sup>24</sup> Douglas Adair, "The Tenth Federalist Re-visited," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., VIII (January, 1951), 60-61.

<sup>25</sup> Louis Boudin, *Government by Judiciary*, (New York: William Godwin, 1932), I, 90-91, 104-109, 568-583.

<sup>26</sup> For a review of Brown's book see R. B. Morris in the May 19, 1956 issue of the *Saturday Review of Literature*. Morris disagrees with Brown very little but feels that Brown has been overly severe in his criticism. Brown points out that William A. Dodd, Edward Channing, Max Farrand, Walter Lippman, Harold U. Faulkner, S. E. Morison, H. S. Commager, John Chamberlain, and E. W. Spaulding have praised Beard's book as scholarly and authoritative. Taft, Corwin, A. B. Hart, N. N. Butler and others remained critical.

<sup>27</sup> Robert E. Brown, *Charles Beard and the Constitution*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), p. 35. Hereafter this work will be cited *Charles Beard*.

<sup>28</sup> C. S. Corwin pointed this out in 1914 in a book review for the February issue of *History Teacher's Magazine*.

<sup>29</sup> R. E. Brown, *Charles Beard*, p. 37.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>32</sup> R. E. Brown, *Charles Beard*, pp. 50-51. Brown notes that Beard admits of an extensive electorate created by wide distribution of property.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>35</sup> R. E. Brown, *Charles Beard*, p. 129.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>39</sup> Henry S. Commager, *The American Mind: The Interpretation of American Thought and Character since the 1880's*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 306.

<sup>40</sup> Richard Hofstadter, "Charles Beard and the Constitution," H. K. Beale, (ed.), *An Appraisal*, p. 85.

<sup>41</sup> Cecilia M. Kenyon, "Men of Little Faith: The Anti-Federalists on the Nature of Representative Government," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., XII (January, 1955), 43.

<sup>42</sup> Robert E. Thomas, "Re-appraisal of Charles A. Beard's Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States," *The American Historical Review*, LVII (January, 1952), 370-375.

<sup>43</sup> Robert E. Thomas' work can be compared to the type of thing worked out in Brown's Ph.D. thesis "The Road to Revolution in Massachusetts," University of Wisconsin, 1946, and his book *Middle-Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts 1691-1780*.

<sup>44</sup> Robert E. Thomas, "The Virginia Convention of 1788: A Criticism of Beard's An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution," *Journal of Southern History*, XIX (February, 1953), 63-72.

## Teaching Civil Disobedience is in Harmony with Civic Education

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Instructors in civic education appropriately address themselves to philosophy and methods of teaching but tend to ignore the proper content in civic education. An example of this is the problem of civil disobedience which has traditionally been the exclusive concern of the political philosophers. The strong suggestion is that this problem is also fundamental content for democratic civic education. Perhaps a statement of some of the problems inherent in political obligation and civil disobedience, a

review of the significant positions, and an analysis of the problems important in civic education will help in understanding the argument in this article.<sup>1</sup>

A significant challenge in modern society has been the problem of political obligation, the problem of "Why ought men to obey the law, how far and under what conditions they are obligated to obey it?"<sup>2</sup> remains for modern man, as it was for the ancients, a significant but unresolved problem. There are those who insist that citizens must always obey the



law . . . either because the law-making power has been granted the "right" to impose its will or because law has innate value and for that reason should be obeyed. Alternatively there are the arguments of those who feel that the citizen's first obligation is to those purposes which are most compelling to him.

The problem of political obligation is at the very heart of civic education. All too often in courses dealing with political content the problem is begged entirely. The assumption is made, either explicitly or implicitly, that men should obey government at all times and under all conditions.

In these same courses democracy is pointed to as the most desirable form of association. Democracy is defined frequently in these courses as a way of life which provides for the maximum development of each individual. The potential contradiction between accepting democracy as defined above and absolute obedience in the political realm is ignored.

If in civic education the question of political obligation is not entertained, if the assumption of absolute obedience to the state is made, then civic education becomes an agency of the state for indoctrinating pupils in the belief of unquestioning acceptance of all government actions. If this state of affairs exists, then John Stuart Mill's apprehension would be realized. Mill holds that:

A general state education is a mere contrivance moulding people to be exactly like one another: and as the mold in which it casts them is that which pleases the prehension would be realized. Mill holds that dominant power in the government, whether this be a monarchy, a priesthood, an aristocracy, or the majority of the existing generation; in proportion as it is efficient over the mind, leading by natural tendency to one over the body.<sup>3</sup>

Of primary importance is the instructor's understanding of the problem arising from political obligation. Perhaps a summary review of the significant positions held by those who have found political obligation a major philosophical concern will assist in viewing the dimensions of this problem.

Some have argued that order is of primary importance in any state, for it is through order that the society can provide the means to perfection for man. The state then is a guarantee of the best moral good. Disobedience would weaken the guarantee and seriously disrupt the social order. It is not a far step then to insist that the laws of the state are supreme over all else and must be obeyed always. Another theory argues that the problem of political obligation become one of obligation to moral self-development. Though this preceding argument differs from that of Plato, the ultimate reason — moral development — is still the center of the obligation to obey.

There are those who recognize that the citizen must obey the law, but this does not mean that he must always obey the law. There are conditions under which the citizen may justifiably disobey. Substantially they argue that the citizen's obligation to the general welfare never ceases; for this reason they conclude that the citizen's disobedience must promote the greater welfare of the society as a whole in which he lives.

Consider the argument that citizens have no real moral obligation to obey the law. Some have argued that law, rather than resting upon moral force, rests rather upon the rule of the strong. Obligation then is in terms of expediency, and the strength of the enforcing agency determines the strength of the obligation.

There are some authorities who hold that the law must meet the standards of the citizen's own conception of justice. The state is not the whole of the citizen's experience and therefore cannot be judged upon its own merits. The individual then determines the validity of the law. The citizen's obligation is not to the state but to each law which he feels adequately expresses his personal interests or desires.

In conjunction with this argument there are those who would say that man should be first "a good man" and second "a good citizen." The only obligation is to do at any time what the citizen may think right. The obligation then is to some authority other than the

state, and the right to disobey the state may well emerge from that other source.

Some authorities and special interest groups have argued that the classroom is not the place to raise conflicts and challenges. Rather they support the view that civic education should be designed to promote the state or some vague concept of citizenship, while others see development of civic responsibility emerging from the teaching of historical myth. It is then improper for those who argue this position to raise problems of freedom, loyalty, political obligation, and civil disobedience in a democratic state.

Surely it is the province of the instructor to raise the conflicting theories on civil disobediences, keeping in mind the thesis that democracy is strengthened by critical examination rather than unquestioning acceptance. The instructor's obligation in civic education is to develop a system of inquiry into man's relationship with the state which can be used as a means of reinterpreting the new conflicts which arise in modern society.

It is consistent to insist in a free society which values the maximum development of each individual that the problems of political

obligation and civil disobedience should not be ignored. In fact these problems cannot be ignored, for whether civic education deals with them or not, they still exist. The question is not whether citizens will occasionally contemplate civil disobedience, for citizens do in fact at times disobey civil authority. The question is should the school be responsible for raising such questions and further should the school promote a method of investigating and understanding the problems? Is it important, if we know that citizens do disobey, to assist them by providing a system of evaluation by which they may understand the consequences of their acts? The view expressed in this article is that such an obligation should be a fundamental part of civic education.

<sup>1</sup> The content and approach that will be suggested has been applied in the teaching of American History in an experimental class at Ohio State University School. Evidence would seem to support the conclusion that study of the problems of political obligation and civil disobedience as proper content in studying civic responsibility can be effective for both secondary as well as higher education students.

<sup>2</sup> Robert M. MacIver, *The Web of Government* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947), p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> John Stuart Mill, *Utilitarianism, Liberty, and Representative Government*, (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1950), p. 217.

## The Place of the Social Sciences in the European High-School Curriculum

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Many American educators, largely as a result of the Cold War and recent advances made by Soviet scientists, are looking critically at the American high-school curriculum to determine by what means more emphasis can be given to mathematics, science, and foreign-language programs. Comparisons are being made between American practices in these areas and educational policies in the

Soviet Union and in the countries of Western Europe. In this entire discussion, however, relatively little has been said about the place of social-science subjects in the secondary schools, as though we could solve current problems by merely increasing our students' knowledge in science fields and by improving their command of French, German, Spanish, or Russian. It will thus be the purpose of the



present article to shed some light on the place given, in European high-school curricula, to the various social sciences and to answer such questions as these: How much time is devoted to the social sciences within the total high-school program of European countries? What is the general content and organization of social-science courses? What academic standards are being required of students in these courses? Are desirable attitudes and improvement of skills promoted through social-studies work?

In answering questions such as these, we must remember a few basic facts. First, educational practices vary tremendously from one European country to another and, especially in countries with decentralized education systems such as England and West Germany, from region to region or from school to school. Second, just as our schools do not simply continue the same procedures year after year, it is clear that the curricula of European secondary schools also are subject to constant change. Finally, since the most respected type of European secondary school, that to which Conant refers as the "pre-university school," enrolls only a much smaller percentage of the youth of secondary-school age than is the case for the American high school, so that comparisons must be made with great care. It is with these reservations in mind that the present author is summarizing below the findings based on his repeated observations in Europe, as well as on textbooks, courses of study, methodology books, and other authoritative material from various countries.

As we thus briefly look at the social-science programs of these foreign secondary schools to determine the total amount of time spent on the social studies within the school program, we find that the term "social studies," even translated into the respective languages, is relatively rare, and that one must proceed by adding the hours devoted to history, geography, and other subjects. Europeans, while generally not following the frequent American pattern of offering each high-school class five periods per week, do devote a consistent amount of work through-

out the secondary-school period to fields in the social-studies area. Using France as an example, one can state that, although it is difficult to predict the changes which will ultimately result from recently-enacted school legislation, the French secondary school has so far allowed, for the social sciences, an average of 2.2 hours per week throughout the seven-year secondary school period, with 37 weeks of actual classwork each year. In addition, in their last year of secondary education, French students spend much time each week in philosophy classes, the exact number of hours depending on the type of school selected.<sup>1</sup> In Norway, none of the various "lines" of the "Gymnasium" devotes less than 12% of its instructional time to the social studies.<sup>2</sup> In Eastern Europe, the social sciences occupy an even higher percentage of the school hours. As an illustration, one might cite the Polish "Lyceum," where the last year of school includes compulsory instruction in social-science subjects for five hours per week, not including additional time devoted to philosophy and to social studies values which can be gained from Polish and Russian literature.<sup>3</sup> To all of these figures, a very considerable amount of homework must be added.

Within the total amount of time given to social-studies fields, most European school systems strongly emphasize history. For example, in West Germany, the current course of study in a fairly typical state, during the last three years of the modern-language branch of the "Gymnasium," allots a total of four hours per week each year for history and civics. Geography, on the other hand, receives only one hour per week the first year, two hours the second year, and none at all during the final year.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, during the last two years of the Norwegian five-year "Gymnasium," three and five hours per week, respectively, are allowed for history instruction, while geography gets no time at all in the first of these two years and is limited to one period per week during the last year.<sup>5</sup> In the Soviet curriculum, too, history is given far more emphasis than geography.<sup>6</sup>

In developing the content of social-science

classwork, decisions are made in widely varying ways in different countries. In the Soviet Union, the course of study is prescribed in great detail by the ministry of education of each component republic, although virtually complete uniformity is secured through supervision by the Communist party and through acceptance, on the part of the other republics, of the policies of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic. In contrast with this method, the English headmaster (principal) and, in fact, each teacher, has virtually complete freedom in deciding on course-content, and neither the ministry nor the local education authority prescribes specific textbooks or subject matter. Between these two extremes, techniques vary from one part of Europe to another. Educationally centralized countries, such as France, tend to show considerable uniformity in curricular practices, while federally organized countries, of which West Germany is a good example, generally set up curricula within each sub-division of the nation. In many European countries, curricula are largely dominated by examination systems, and while these examinations are normally made by ministries of education, the English "Secondary School Examinations Council," on which teachers, universities, local education authorities, etc., are represented,<sup>7</sup> is a fine example of a democratic type of advisory body on this matter.

Let us now look at the particular curriculum in the field of history. Here instruction generally follows a chronological pattern, sometimes with all of world history taught in each of two cycles of about three years each, so that each student, before completing the secondary school, repeats his study of the period from prehistory to the present. In many cases, this leaves but little time for the discussion of contemporary history. For instance, a currently-used English textbook-series in history has a 330-page volume devoted to history from 1714 to the present. Out of all of this material, only the last 34 pages deal with World War I and the period following that event.<sup>8</sup> This is typical of the situation in some West European school sys-

tems but does not necessarily result from the chronological approach. Although the latter is followed in the Soviet Union also, present-day history is given far more time there. The reason for doing so, in the words of the Soviet syllabus, is that "Bourgeois revolutions were limited, whereas the Soviet Revolution in 1917 led to magnificent accomplishments in the U.S.S.R.," and the task of the school, therefore, is to show these accomplishments to students.<sup>9</sup> In a similar manner, the many East German textbooks which the writer surveyed followed the basic German tendency of teaching history in two cycles but gave more prominence to modern times than is otherwise typical of German schools.

In addition to this general acceptance of chronology as a method in history, both West and East European courses of study are similar in several other respects. One of them is a strong emphasis on history dates and other factual material. Another is the small amount of material devoted to non-European history, such as that of the United States, of Canada, and of Latin America. This applies even to some British textbooks which neglect such nations as Burma and India, with which Britain has long had political ties. It should be noted that courses of study and books on methodology, far more than school textbooks, suggest new approaches to both content and method in the field of history. While most European social-studies teaching is done on a departmentalized basis, a directive, similar to a course of study, in a very conservative state of West Germany urges teachers to establish correlations between the material presented in history and in other subjects,<sup>10</sup> while other West-German courses of study make such proposals as use of unit teaching and adoption of the project and problem methods so familiar to American educators. However, not all proposals for change which are made by European social-science educators would carry the label "progressive" in the United States. A French professor, for example, asks pointedly when the central school authority will understand the necessity of

requiring all students taking Greek and Latin to obtain, during the appropriate two years of their secondary education, instruction in Greek and Roman history. This is, he claims, "the only means of assuring, to the classical education, all of its virtue."<sup>11</sup>

While history dominates the European secondary-school social-science curriculum, geography, in virtually all European school systems, still plays a much more significant part than is true in many American schools. Much of what is taught in that field in Europe is physical geography. For example, in Italy, geography is grouped with chemistry and natural science in the higher secondary schools, where the program includes elementary geology and mineralogy, a study of the main physical features of world geography, a summary of the laws of evolution governing mineral, vegetable, and animal life, and similar material.<sup>12</sup> In the curriculum of the French "Lycées," two years out of seven are given to purely physical geography,<sup>13</sup> while even in the Communist "German Democratic Republic," one of the currently-used geography books for the ninth year of school devotes a total of 240 pages to mathematical and astronomical geography, cartography, physical geology, etc.<sup>14</sup> A smaller East German geography book, designed as one of several texts to be used on the 11th-grade level, consists of a detailed study of the geological development of Germany.<sup>15</sup>

Place geography, including memorization of countries, mountains, rivers, cities, etc., receives a tremendous amount of emphasis in European secondary schools, with instruction generally following the division of the world into continents and of the latter into countries and smaller political units. In Britain, an alternate scheme has recently regained favor. This scheme, in substance, calls for a study of the world each year from a different viewpoint, such as "Land Forms and Physical Features," "Climate and Vegetation," and "Economic Geography."<sup>16</sup> The latter topic, incidentally, receives special attention in the Soviet Union, where geography classes spend the entire eighth grade on economic geography of foreign countries and all

of grade nine on economic geography of the U.S.S.R.<sup>17</sup>

Geography instruction, as is the case for history, concentrates on the native country of the student and the area surrounding it. There are, however, noteworthy examples of deviation from this principle. One French geography book abounds in details about agricultural development in the Soviet Union,<sup>18</sup> and in preparation for the "General Certificate of Education" in England, a considerable amount of the required material deals with the geography of North America.<sup>19</sup> Altogether, European geography instruction involves a vast amount of material to be learned. There is ample evidence that European educators are aware of the dangers inherent in what the Germans aptly call "Stoffanhaefung" (amassing of subject matter), and the French slogan of "surmenage scolaire" (overwork in school) applies to geography as much as it does to many other fields, yet little has so far happened to eliminate needless detail, and curricula contain an infinitely larger amount of facts and data than are included in the corresponding American courses.

While history and geography still make up most of the social-science curriculum in Europe, other subjects are coming more and more into the foreground. Civics courses already have gained acceptance in many European curricula, but are now sometimes combined with work in economics and sociology. For instance, the "Social Science" course for the ninth year of school in one West German state is composed largely of such topics as economic concepts, salaries and wages, and the public budget. In the tenth year of school, the same course lists not only a discussion of economic planning, labor law, trade unions, and related matters, but also contains a unit on "Assistance in Choosing a Vocation," a somewhat surprising development in the traditionally academic German secondary school.<sup>20</sup> An even more unconventional item in a European curriculum, again a West German innovation, is the area of traffic education, not as a special school subject, but as a part of the courses



in "Social Science" through the tenth year of school.<sup>21</sup> The same trend in the direction of more provision for social sciences other than history and geography can also be found in the decree of January 6, 1959, enacted by the DeGaulle government, which included in the final year of the French secondary school a new curricular type called "Sciences économiques et humaines" (economic and human sciences). In the Soviet Union, psychology is required during the last year of the ten-year school.

The reader might wonder, at this point, how much of all this social-sciences material students actually have to master in order to complete the pre-university secondary schools in the respective countries. It is difficult to give a short answer to this question. However, on the basis of his own observations in classrooms in several countries, and after a survey of examination questions recently used in England and in the Soviet Union, the writer feels that more knowledge is indeed required of European students for successful completion of the secondary school than is demanded of young Americans.

We should also realize that, in addition, much social-science teaching is done in European schools in courses outside of the field of the social studies. The writer of the present article has observed foreign-language classes in Europe where students in the upper grades knew so much about the language being taught that they were able to read literary masterpieces, many of which have historical content. Even in the literature of the students' native country, of which a very thorough study is made in most European schools, understandings are gained which are closely related to the social sciences. On the other hand, there is one area of social-science teaching which is very prevalent in American schools and far less so in Europe: the teaching of controversial issues. There are probably several reasons why European teachers hesitate, even in the free countries of Europe, to deal with such material. In some areas, such as Germany, there may be a conscious or unconscious

fear that to teach controversial issues or to permit their discussion in class might incriminate the teacher in the eyes of parents disagreeing with his political viewpoints. Possibly more important as an explanation for lacking instruction in that field is the concept, held by many conservative educators in Europe, that there must be receptivity before there can be creativity. In other words, the feeling is that a student must learn the facts in a systematic manner before he can proceed to form opinions and to take an active part in the political and economic life of his country.

While some foreign courses of study contain a strong demand that the teaching of skills and attitudes should be part of social-science instruction, American secondary schools in which this writer has taught and where he is supervising student teachers at present make far greater real efforts in that direction. There is more student participation, more discussion, more opportunity for critical thinking, and more chance to apply material learned, in American secondary schools than is the case in their European counterparts. It is also true that Europeans are less concerned with individual differences in such areas as reading skills. While poor readers are unlikely to be admitted to a European secondary school in the first place, there still remain differences in reading ability and other areas for which few provisions, if any, are made in social-science curricula or textbooks.

It appears that we have much to gain by taking a close look at the Europeans' systematic approach to the construction of social-science curricula. Europeans give somewhat more attention than do many American school systems to the field of geography—an area where we most definitely need to add emphasis. European textbooks, while inferior to ours in many ways, have features to which we could well give more consideration than has so far been done. On the other hand, Europeans would benefit from carefully examining provisions made, in some American social-studies curricula, for the teaching of attitudes and skills, for class dis-

cussions and other forms of student participation, and for individual differences. Exchanges of viewpoints on these and other topics would be most profitable to social-science teachers in many countries of the world.

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## Sociodrama as a Teaching Technique

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Not long ago a young man whom we shall call John Jones, a west coast college student, applied for a teaching position in a small eastern city. After submitting his recommendations and exchanging several letters with the superintendent of schools, he was given a contract which he signed. John and Mary, his wife, bought a trailer in which they made a leisurely trip across the United States, arriving at their destination a week before the opening of school.

The next morning John visited Mr. Brown, the superintendent.

Mr. Brown was very upset when he saw John Jones. "You did not tell me you are a Negro," he said. "We have never had a Negro on our faculty and the community would not

stand for it. I don't know what we can do about you. I'll call a meeting of the School Board to discuss the matter. But I can assure you, Mr. Jones, you will not be allowed to teach here."

John Jones went home to tell his wife the bad news and to discuss with her what they should do.

A story such as this is ideal for the implementation of sociodrama as a teaching method. After telling the story, the teacher would tell her class:

"Now we shall act out possible solutions that John and Mary might find to their problem. Tim, you play the role of John, and Jane, you play the role of Mary. Remember, you decide what you are going to do and also



how you think the person whose part you are playing will *feel* and talk."

The teacher then chooses one or two other casts and sends the couples out of the classroom to discuss the problem briefly. While they are outside, the rest of the class quickly list various possible solutions, such as these:

- (1) Sue in court for a year's salary
- (2) Plead with the Board for a chance, agreeing that John will leave after a trial period if he does not make good
- (3) Appeal to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for help
- (4) Get another job in the vicinity
- (5) Settle for compensation for time and expenses of trip
- (6) Get a job in a Negro school

The casts return and *extemporaneously* discuss the problem and decide what they will do. Often the couples hit upon the same or a combination of the same solutions that the class suggested, but sometimes they act out an entirely different ending. The feeling that each pair puts into the dramatization usually varies from belligerency to dejection on the part of one or the other of the characters.

Following the role-playing, the class analyzes the solutions and the feelings portrayed in terms of reasoning, psychological authenticity, and possible consequences of alternate courses.

This sociodrama is an example taken from a college course in Social Foundations of Teaching where problems of minority groups are studied. The setting is present-day America, but any problem situation involving human relationships—current or historical—can be studied through sociodrama.

Classes in social studies that have learned the issues in a labor-management controversy might use a situation involving a meeting of leaders from both groups. A class might enact a scene in which the local town council discusses a problem. The mock United Nations meetings attended by high school representatives in many states are actually large-scale sociodramas. Family living courses offer innumerable problems of

parent-child, brother-sister, child-peer group relationships that are natural plots for sociodramas. In sociodramas such as these, the primary purpose might be to present opposing views rather than arriving at a solution to the problem.

While stories for role-playing may come from today's headlines, they may be as old as recorded history. For example, the dilemma of Hans Van Loon, a wealthy patroon in New York who must choose sides in the American Revolution, or of Tom Smithson, a Northern States-Righter at the time of the Civil War, might be emphasized through sociodrama. In historical settings, probably imaginary characters in hypothetical situations are better material for role-playing than well known personages because the choices actually made by the latter tend to restrict creativeness.

Perhaps you are thinking, what is the advantage of this method over the usual informal class discussion beyond the fact that it adds a little variety? The chief advantage is that frequently the players and perhaps the class, too, *identify* with the roles being portrayed. In studying current affairs, their social sensitivities are developed because they learn how it feels to be in someone else's shoes. Identification with the aspirations, disappointments, troubles, and fears of others is especially important today when so much of our society is living in tight little subcultures of suburbia.

Sociodrama may help also to make everyday people who lived long ago come alive, problems seem real, and social history become more significant. They may, furthermore, add another dimension to good teaching of history: the concept of social change. Although problems of human relationships are as old as man, the solutions chosen by persons long dead might have been different had they known what we know today. Consequently, pupils must orient their thinking to that of the period being studied. Part of the evaluation of the sociodrama would entail the historical accuracy of the data cited in support of a decision. At the same time, children would be reminded that in like manner,

some of the choices we make today might be unwise from the vantage point of 2500 A.D.

#### HOW TO TEACH USING A SOCIODRAMA

*Planning:* Select a problem of human relationships that fits the maturity level of your pupils. If you are lucky you may find a short story that serves the purpose which you will read to the class. You may, however, write your own story or simply describe the characters and the situation in which they are involved to your class. In any event, the number of characters should be limited, how the story ends will not be suggested, and several different endings are possible.

*Procedures:* (1) Prepare the pupils to identify with the characters by explaining that you will choose some of them to act out the ending of the story you are about to tell or read.

(2) Read or tell the story. This should not take more than fifteen or twenty minutes.

(3) Choose the cast or casts. (At first, you may find it helpful to choose the actors before you tell the story.) Since you want your first sociodramas to be successful, you might choose boys and girls who would cooperate willingly and be able to talk readily. After you have used the technique a number of times, you should then choose pupils who would gain most from playing the role. For example, when you know a boy has no sympathy for unions, you would cast him in the role of a labor leader. The assumption is that he would learn something of labor's point of view from taking the role.

(4) Send the actors out of the room for a three to five minutes' planning session.

(5) Let the class suggest solutions. Some teachers may prefer to omit this step, but others find it useful in getting involvement from the whole class.

Perhaps with first attempts, you might

prefer to spend the time in helping the class think through how they will evaluate the role-playing. At this time, you would also suggest that the class should be sympathetic with the performers and refrain from laughing.

(6) Students act out the conclusion of the story. While the play is in progress, you should sit with the class and not interrupt the players unless they are obviously changing the facts of the situation as described. You should, however, recognize when a decision is reached, end the scene, and thank the performers. Sometimes the pupils themselves do not seem to realize when this point is reached.

(7) Evaluate in terms of (a) emotional reactions portrayed; (b) facts cited; and (c) consequences of various courses of action. Sometimes teachers assume that they can evaluate their pupils' emotional reactions, too, on the basis of how they play roles. Thus they confuse sociodrama as a teaching method with psychodrama, a projective technique used by psychiatrists and psychologists. Since analyses derived from projective techniques are sometimes questionable even when made by expert psychologists, teachers should beware of amateur diagnosis. After all, you asked the pupil to play a role. Let's assume that he is doing just that.

*A Final Word:* Plan carefully so that you will establish a clear-cut problem situation that is interesting. Nevertheless, don't be discouraged if your first effort fails. Sociodrama will work on any age group from kindergarteners to adults, but older persons are more likely to laugh and be self-conscious and less likely to identify on first tries than younger children. After a little experience, the chief limitation of the technique is the lack of ingenuity of the teacher.

# The Sociology of the Political Community and Peace

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## ALL SCIENCE IS ONE

Scientific scholarship always incorporates an element of faith or of assumption. For example, all science is based on the faith or assumption that the universe is orderly and, therefore, that events and entities are related to each other in an orderly fashion. This orderly relationship makes possible cause and effect generalizations relative thereto. That is, science is possible. Such science, whether physical or social, is "an organized body of knowledge in a given field in which the laws of causal sequence are stated."<sup>1</sup> "All the sciences, both physical and social, must abstract their data from the natural setting in order to control the experiment. Therefore, any generalization which they may make is not immediately applicable to a specific situation or problem."<sup>2</sup> The scholars all know that this is true of the social sciences but many do not know that it is also true of the physical sciences. For example, the bacteriologist cannot say which of a group of people exposed to the measles will contract the illness, the physicist cannot know which railway rail will break during a cold spell, the botanist cannot predict which seeds of a given package will germinate, the geologist cannot predict where the next earthquake will occur, nor can the physicist tell where a bouncing ball will light or how any falling body will behave anywhere except in a vacuum, which occurs nowhere in nature. Sociology, political economy, and the other social sciences, therefore, only ask for the same consideration as is given to the physical sciences, as they—the social sciences—attempt to state the laws of causality about human behavior as related to peace.

Sociology deals with *homo sapiens* in his group or inter-personal relations. The term is a hybrid—half Latin and half Greek. *Socius* means society and *logos* means a study or a science. Therefore, sociology is the science of society. There was no Greek word equivalent to "society" and therefore Comte was forced to perform an international marriage of semantics. Such internationalization of the concept seems especially appropriate for a sociological analysis of some of the conditions of peace.

The current fear of "hot" wars and the blighting heat emanating from exploding atomic mushrooms causes one to give more credence to the statement of one writer that "human life is merely a disease of the earth's old age." In any case life did not develop during the earth's fiery youth as a hot, sterile planet with no water or atmosphere. The current nuclear form of damoclean sword suspended over the earth waiting for some madman almost literally to explode the earth and set it aflame gives cause to ponder what can be done—and quickly—to prevent the human demise in a man-made Gehenna.

## THE POLITICAL COMMUNITY AND ITS CULTURE

When one thinks of the political community he, typically, thinks of "political" as meaning the state, or the organization of the state, as the political community. Community has many definitions. The smallest type of community organization is the family and then you may think historically of clans, tribes, and nations or states and then, perchance, international organizations such as the United Nations. The community consists of several neighborhoods. It is a self-supporting unit of people which satisfies the cultural,



economic, and educational essentials of the group. The term is also used loosely in speaking of a "national community" or a world community. It is the latter type of political community which we are discussing.

The sociologists use the term "community" in two ways: the primary community and the secondary community. The primary community is the face-to-face small group where there is much personal inter-communication, and personal contact. The secondary community is the world community, the state-wide community, and the like. The communities, of course, consist of people and of institutions. The four major institutions are: The state or the government, the family, the church or religion, and the economic or industrial institution. Those four include the gamut of major institutions.

The state as an institution has several definitions. In the United States the term is used to designate one of the 50 states; whereas, in the political science sense the term "state" means the United States or Russia or England, and such political entities. The state consists of people, territory, and a sovereign government, based upon a common culture. Culture is all of the techniques, knowledge, methodologies, practices, traditions, and beliefs which a people use to operate their lives and their institutions. It is that complex whole of the people's way of life which includes knowledge, beliefs, philosophy, mores, customs, tools, machines, organizational structure, communication techniques and the like. Culture is passed on from generation to generation, and it is cumulative. A person inherits his culture just as surely as he inherits his biological characteristics.

Cultural unity is highly significant. Many times a culture inherited from the past loses its unity and is out of harmony with the needs of the present. Some portions of the culture are dynamic and move ahead, while other parts are more static and fail to change with equal rapidity. The result is a cultural lag. The cultural lag is very evident in the current world of international political anarchy. Totally sovereign and unregulated

nation-states, for example, were established in the days of the horse and buggy and galley slave or sailboat transportation facilities with the resulting isolation. Today, the modern interplanetary devices go at the rate of five miles a second. At a rate of five miles per second, the world of 25,000 miles in circumference can be encompassed in less than two minutes. However, in a society in which everyone is the neighbor of everyone else and, as it were, everyone is living in the front yard of everyone else, the cultural lag relative to the absence of an adequate international political organizational structure results in world anarchy, chaos, and war.

#### AN ANARCHISTIC POLITICAL LAG

The United Nations now has a membership of nearly a hundred nations. It is an attempt to prevent complete world anarchy. However, every constituent member nation is considered as a complete law unto itself. The requirement of a unanimous vote in the Security Council was provided in order to protect unlimited sovereignty of the members thereof. The result is that anarchism prevails at the international level just as it would within a nation if each individual were completely sovereign and subjected to no law. This lag in the international political culture must be remedied soon or there may be no one left to effect the remedy.

The United Nations is an attempt to reduce this political lag or to compensate therefor. However, so many absolute vetoes and requirements of unanimity have been inserted that the United Nations is relatively impotent to solve the war problem. The United Nations is only a loose confederacy in which complete independence, sovereignty, and anarchistic behavior are sacrosanct to each of the signatory members.

Scholarship is supposed to be international and to have no national boundaries. Scholarship, whether scientific or humanistic, is the same in all nations. A scholarly truism is that, "In a world of economic intercourse, in order to prevent wars, there must be an international organization with authority adequate to settle the differences arising from the economic and other interaction."

Such a political structure would not have to incorporate all authority to do everything. It would only need to have the power to adjudicate, and enforce the adjudication, of international disputes which could not be settled by conciliation or arbitration. This adjudicatory process would prevent any nation's having to "lose face."

#### ETHNO-CENTRIC SELF-RIGHTEOUSNESS CAUSES WAR

Every people has a culture. To the sociologist the most primitive peoples possess culture just as do the most civilized. There is a kind of a high brow sense in which one may speak of culture, meaning that type of culture possessed by folks that know the proper knife and fork technique at the Waldorf. Culture, in this sense is non-utilitarian and belongs to the upper classes. But culture to the sociologist or anthropologist means the way of life of a people—their total way of life—material and immaterial. The people of every nation inherited most of their culture. Such national cultures are always ethnocentric. We, as individuals, are egocentric and as groups we are ethnocentric. As individuals we are the center of the universe and as groups we make our groups the center of the universe. Always as individuals we see ourselves in the right and other folks who disagree with us are always in the wrong. This egocentric-ethnocentric complex of self-righteousness is true whether or not one is talking of Russia, of China, of England, or Argentina, or of the United States. All groups are ethnocentric and they see their own frame of reference or definition of the situation as the proper one. Folks that don't see eye to eye with such ethnocentrists are considered to be uneducated, uncouth, or just plain bad.

Ethnocentrism is even more dangerous than egocentrism. People are generally kind and helpful, at least, as individuals. Individuals generally don't boast that "I'm the best person in the world, I know more than anyone in the world, I have higher morals than anyone in the world, I'm always right, get out of the way and let me at the head of the line." An individual tends to step back

and say "you first and excuse me for my mistakes." But as groups, we are boldly and openly selfish, inconsiderate, and arrogant. National groups have generally acted in such an irresponsible manner and they will probably continue such behavior until an adequate world organization evolves and until the schools have taken seriously the inculcation of sociological knowledge. It will be possible to stop groups from being that way if, and when, we educate them properly so that they can understand and psychoanalyze themselves. So long as one group is always 100 per cent right and the other group which disagrees is always 100 per cent wrong there will be war, in the absence of a world adjudicative process and a world police force.

#### MORES AND CONSCIENCE ENCOURAGE WAR

Folkways and mores are a part of culture and enter into the formulation and observance of the laws and institutions and political organizations which are institutions, too. Folkways are the socially and culturally proper ways—they are the customary ways—they are the immemorial ways. Folkways determine most of the behavior patterns of man. Mores are folkways elevated to a plane of morality or rightness. You must do it in order to do your duty toward your compatriots. Mores are a matter of morality. They are the moral ways. A violator of the mores is a violator of the welfare of the group. These mores, folkways and common laws, are inherited from the past. They are transmitted by the bearers of the immediate culture. Children and young folks imbibe them, as it were, with their mothers' milk. One violating a folkway is merely a yokel—one violating a *mos* is an enemy of the group. Conscience is developed from the mores. It is an individualization and an internalization of the mores of the in-group. The mores decide what is wrong and what is right. Little children learn that this is right and that the other is wrong from the mores. The internalization of the mores and the dominance thereof is what the psychiatrist knows as the super ego and others know as conscience. The two and three-fourths billion people in the world all belong to some nation-state political sov-



ereignty and they all "know" that their ways are always the right ways—their consciences tell them that their ways are the right ways. They "know" that they are not doing wrong, because their consciences do not condemn them. One who understands the role of the mores in the origin of the conscience or the super ego won't become so self-righteous. He won't be so sure that he is doing right merely because he has no self-condemnation or guilt feeling arising.

#### THE LIFE-CYCLE OF NATIONS

There is a typical institutional life cycle. The institution of the state, in common with all institutions, originates with a feeling of need arising from unsatisfactory conditions. A milling about then occurs and a tentative organization with transient leaders appears and a temporary organization is established. Permanent leaders and a permanent organization then evolve and a permanent institution is created which meets the unmet needs which caused the initial milling about. There follows quite a period of time in which the new institution meets the needs which caused its birth. However, soon the institution becomes important *per se*. Its perpetuation becomes the end goal—the end process. No longer is it interested in the needs of the people. It is interested in the needs of the institution. The institution must be served and, therefore, the *status quo* is frozen while society and conditions change. The institution no longer serves the needs of the people and it heads downward toward decadence and death. However, someone or some group may revamp and rebuild it and reverse the "death plunge." For example, following World War I, the League of Nations, and following World War II, the United Nations, attempted to revamp the balance of power structure of the world and to create a total cooperative institution to prevent the plunge toward human genocide. Likewise, an institutional life cycle has occurred in the United States. For example, the people of the United States in the pre-Revolutionary War days experienced much unrest, turmoil, need, and dissatisfaction. The tentative leaders appeared and the war was concluded and then

more permanent leaders and a more permanent structure appeared in the form of the United States Constitution in 1789. A long period occurred in which the new institution—the United States Constitution and the statutes thereunder—served the interests and needs of the people in a very effective way. However, by 1929 and 1933 enough change had occurred that it was no longer adequate to think of the government as a kind of sideline policeman or referee with only negative functions. A purely *laissez faire* economy was no longer adequate. More positive action was needed. Something more than just a sideline referee was needed. Governmental action was needed to stimulate and assist the economy. Certain political leaders and others continued to mouth the old shibboleths. They said "let the neighbors look after the hungry," and "if he isn't lazy, he can get a job." The people of the United States, fortunately, decided that new measures were necessary and they instituted the "New Deal." Social security laws were adopted, unemployment insurance was instituted, credit was extended, banks were supported, public construction and credit expansion were instituted and the monetary system was modernized. Furthermore, the law of 1946 made the federal government responsible to see that an economy of full employment is maintained. Since the latter date the institutional changes have been few and the institution may now be about to enter another phase of the institutional life cycle.

Intelligent citizens living under a political institution should note when the institution ceases adequately to serve the needs which it was created to serve. They should then revamp it and change it and modernize and streamline it in order that it can continue to serve the needs of its constituents. The biggest question currently before the world is, "Can the completion of the death plunge in the life cycle of political institutions be prevented?" Shall political institutions remain frozen at the stage of anarchy and allow all political organization to continue the trend toward chaos and self-destruction? Will the people of the world be able to revamp the

political institution so that the institution will serve society rather than to have society serve the myopic institution and both end in decay and destruction? The United Nations is a political institution which is making an attempt to serve the needs of the world. It appears that it is going to need some revamping if it is to be able adequately to serve the peace needs of the people of the world.

Professor Stuart Chapin lists the four phases of the four institutions which were mentioned *supra*. Each of these institutions is characterized by (1) attitudes, (2) symbols, (3) utilitarian traits, and (4) codes or specifications, either oral or written. Some of these "type parts" are material—the symbols and utilitarian culture traits—and some such as loyalty, devotion, respect, domination, and subordination, and fear are immaterial. The symbols are the flags, shrines, monuments, seals, emblems, and anthems. The utilities are the state houses, military equipment, governmental buildings, and public works. The codes are the constitutions, laws, patriotic rituals, charters, ordinances, and mores.

The attitudes and other type parts which support the political institution nearly all support religion, also. The other institutions have a slightly different set of symbols, attitudes, utilitarian traits, and codes. Such are the traits of institutions, political and non-political, and it is valuable to analyze them from time to time.

#### WE-GROUP VS. OTHERS-GROUP

The "in-group" or "we-group" needs to be enlarged if international peace is to ensue. The mores never apply to the "out-group." For example, the Hebrews had a very strict *mos* that "Thou shalt not kill," but, of course, it applied only to the "in-group." They were continually busy killing the "out-group." There is need for attitudes of loyalty to the world rather than just to one of the nations which belong to the United Nations. A world loyalty, world symbols, world utilities, and a world code need to be developed. The United Nations document itself is a modified code but it has little implementation. Na-

tional political institutions, like other institutions, have a tendency to freeze the *status quo* and, therefore, develop a bad cultural lag which endangers world peace. Such institutional conservatism and the resulting cultural and political lag are major difficulties at the present time in the world's political structure. There is need for a change in the world political structure; but, the peoples of the several nations are very conservative relative to the adoption of such a necessary change.

#### INSTITUTIONAL SELF-SERVICE

Institutions are intended to give order. Order is very important. In the beginning of the lives of institutions, they were all created to serve needs. They did this initially and for a considerable period of time. However, the tendency to fear the new and strange in the social sphere causes conservatism and a too rigid freezing of the *status quo*. Progress is thereby retarded. This tendency to conservation of the institution may be stated thus: "The individual lives and dies, but long live the institution which envelops and controls the individual from birth to death." The institution is created to service ideals and then, frequently, proceeds to strangle those ideals.

Examples of the institution becoming the end or goal may be found in Socrates' being forced to drink the hemlock, Jesus on the cross, Mohammed driven into a mountain cave, Amos driven from the Shrine of Bethel, Savonarola and Servetus at the stake, Galileo forced to recant by the holy inquisition, Luther excommunicated, Washington a hunted outlaw, and Gandhi in a breechcloth. But those in authority always seek to protect the institution and they often, therefore, conflict with the real and farseeing patriots. The latter often suffer martyrdom because of their attempt to erase the cultural lag in the institution.

The immaterial phases of culture typically trail behind the material phases of culture. This is especially true of the phases of the immaterial culture which are imbued with the most emotional impedimenta, such as familial or religious or political affiliations, and the like. Therefore, it is not surprising

that the nationalistic political institutions have maintained the prerogative of international anarchy through the fetish of unlimited sovereignty. Such anarchy and multiplicity of sovereignties in the modern world is an anachronism and a major cultural lag in and of itself.

#### INSTITUTIONAL ORIGINS AND THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

A knowledge of the originating circumstances of institutions frequently contributes to an understanding thereof. Therefore, it is in order to examine the origin of the economic institution. Typically, the economic order has evolved through the following stages: (1) the hunting and fishing or direct appropriation stage, (2) the pastoral or herdsmen stage, (3) the agricultural stage, (4) the handicraft, domestic, or putting out stage, and (5) the modern commercial or industrial stage. Some historians have assumed that each and all of these steps in the cultural evolution of the economic order were inevitable. Such is not the case. For example, most of the Indians of the United States omitted the pastoral stage and have hardly arrived at the final stage.

The origin of the family is less clear than that of the economic system. Lewis Henry Morgan, the most famous scholar to do research in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan and the man after whom Morgan Heights is named, considered the family to have evolved through the following definite stages: (1) complete promiscuity, (2) consanguineous marriage, (3) group marriage of sibs, (4) polyandry and polygyny, and (5) monogamy. The scholars now know that the family did not go through all of the stages suggested by Morgan. For example, total sex promiscuity probably never existed in any human group. Likewise, many have mistaken matrilinear descent for the matriarchate.

The origin of the political community, the political state, or the political nation has never had such definite and widely accepted stages applied to its development. Naturally, some have imputed its origin to an evolutionary process through the (1) family, (2) the clan, (3) the tribe, (4) the nation or

state, and (5) the world state. Such a development process is logical. However, many modern states have arisen much more cataclysmically. Several theories as to the origin of the state are enumerated below.

The divine right theory was popular throughout the middle ages. The divine theory, after the Renaissance and the Reformation, could no longer be used to subdue the people of a dictatorial state. Hobbes' social contract theory was then enunciated and was used by the dictators in lieu of the divine right theory. The social contract theory had been prevalent among the Hebrews, accepted by Roman jurists in the Empire, and suggested by Plato. However, it was left for Hobbes to revive it following the Dark Ages in order to undergird tottering thrones. The originators of the social contract theory thought that the people in a state of nature had been vicious one to another. The state of nature, thought Hobbes, was red in tooth and claw. The people had to come together into an organization for self-preservation. They, therefore, entered into a social contract. The people was the party of the first part and the king was the party of the second part. The contract was in perpetuity. It could not be cancelled. Once the people had entered into the social contract and had thereby given authority to the king, the power could never be taken away from him. However, Locke amended the social contract theory and thereby made it revocable provided the king violated his obligation under the contract. John Locke and John Calvin, furthermore, gave the people the decision as to whether or not the contract had been broken by the king.

Rousseau reinterpreted the social contract theory so that the people were really only contracting among themselves. He distinguished, as Hobbes had failed to do, between the state and the government. The people were the state and they had contracted among themselves to establish a government which they could change or overthrow at will. The government was transitory. The state could exist while governments lived and died. The people were not contracting with the



king. They were contracting between themselves. They could remove the administrator anytime they saw fit. They were the judge as to whether or not the king had violated the contract. Rousseau espoused this latter type of social contract and he was the one upon whom the founders of the United States based their philosophy of government. Jefferson and those other forbears who collaborated with him were immersed in Rousseau. They espoused the law of nature as well as the revocable social contract. The group which came over on the Mayflower entered into a compact (social contract) before they left the boat at Plymouth Rock. Likewise, the United States government originated through a social contract entered into in Philadelphia and subsequently adopted and inaugurated in 1789. The United Nations confederacy also originated as a social contract at San Francisco in 1945.

There are several other theories of the origin of the state which have been propounded. Force has been both a theoretical and a practical factor in the organization of many states. The matriarchal and patriarchal large families have been at the base of evolutionary and historical theories. Probably the most popular theory, which has been discarded, was the organic theory. The first and most prominent Christian missionary and the early sociologists were attracted to the organic theory as the basis of organized society.

#### MAN—THE SOCIAL ANIMAL

Aristotle stated that "man is a political animal." That is, he is a social animal. He needs to join with others both for his own existence and for his fulfillment. Therefore, man has been a joiner and an organizer of groups and governments. The "prolongation of infancy" in the human species during which his physical survival is dependent upon others exists for a long enough period of time to socialize him and to make of him "a social animal."

Primary groups and communities and secondary groups and communities have been mentioned earlier. The in-group and the out-group are sociological concepts which are

apropos also. Typically, when the sociologists use the term "in-group" they mean a very small group such as the family, or the neighborhood or the district school or small church group. However, the in-group as used here, means all of those people whom one feels belong to his nation-state and therefore are not enemies or potential enemies of his nation-state. Therefore, most secondary groups within a state are still part of the in-group insofar as international relations are concerned. But, they are not primary groups. Secondary groups are groups such as labor organizations, economic organizations, scholarly organizations, and most college students in a university are living mainly in secondary groups. Sororities and fraternities are created and maintained in an effort to perpetuate the primary group and its values.

It is the rivalry between the in-group and the out-group which causes the trouble in international relations. The in-group intermittently vents its wrath on the out-group. The people of some hundred other nations all belong to the out-group from the viewpoint of the people of any one of them. The out-group receives none of the ordinary civil amenities. Moral codes have no application to the out-group. Folks who would not think of putting a dagger in the back of a member of the primary group will have no qualms of any kind in stabbing an out-group person in a legalized war situation. The members of the out-group get none of the concessions which are extended to members of the in-group. Laws or moral codes against killing do not apply to out-groups and to the killing of out-groups nationals in war time. For example, religious people can quote moral codes such as "Thou shalt not kill" and at the same time spend much of their time killing other and out-group peoples, and yet not be hypocritical. It is understood that members of the out-group are to be killed.

#### THE IN-GROUP MUST BE EXPANDED

One of the most pressing needs, if peace is to be preserved, is to expand the in-group concept and practice to the point where all of the former out-groups will have become parts of only one in-group. That is, the hu-

man family would become one in-group, then people of any country, for example, would think of the 175 million people of their country, or of the 200 million people of another country, or of the five or six hundred million people of a third country, and of the 2750 million people of the world as members of the in-group. The in-group would then encompass the human race. Sociologists would say that a major objective of the United Nations is to expand the in-group to where it will have incorporated all of the former out-groups to the extent that no human will be thought of as an enemy or as a member of an out-group and, therefore, beyond the pale of protection by the in-group mores.

The political community includes out-group domestics as well as international out-groups. For example, the southern white rules the Negro out of his in-group. The Negro is an out-group member and therefore the ordinary rules of morality and codes of ethics and mores and Christian principles which the southern white applies to his in-group are not applicable to the Negro. He is therefore treated as an outcast.

#### VIRTUE IS KNOWLEDGE—ENLIGHTENED SELFISHNESS AS A GOAL

The fact that people are egocentric probably makes it inevitable that each one will look after his own interests first, that is, be selfish. However, it may be that for the greatest efficiency, it is best for each one to be alert primarily on behalf of himself. Possibly that is the method of securing the greatest good for the greatest number. But, selfishness combined with ignorance is fatal to human welfare. On the other hand enlightened selfishness will probably prove that Socrates was correct in maintaining that "Virtue is knowledge."

There is a need for the educators of the

world to be enlightened in their selfishness. Education should cease to be a brain-wash device for the several ethnocentric nationalisms of the world. The educational system should give the students the social science knowledge necessary to understand themselves and others. Citizens should understand the psychiatric, sociological, and economic forces which motivate and shape their lives. They should be able to understand and to analyze, critically, the sources of their guilt feelings and of their self-righteousness. Likewise, they should have the politico-economic knowledge needed to exercise an adequately enlightened selfishness. Unfortunately, instead of the schools' beginning to emphasize more social science knowledge they are placing a greater emphasis on the physical sciences and material technologies, with some renewed emphasis upon the "escape" subjects, too. Federal aid is being used currently to further such materialistic and myopic educational objectives, while the social sciences are by-passed. Such unenlightened selfishness on the part of educators, the government, and the peoples of the world is most disconcerting.

The great challenge confronting the 2.75 billion people of the world is to promulgate the necessary psycho-socio-politico-economic education and understanding in order to cause the ego-ethnocentric selfishness of the people to become adequately enlightened for the in-group to expand until it absorbs all of the out-groups in order that a necessary world political community can be organized with sufficient adjudicative authority and power of enforcement to prevent World War III and human extinction.

<sup>1</sup> Albert H. Burrows, *The School Review*, Jan., 1947, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

## The Teachers' Page

HYMAN M. BOODISH

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### THE EXPANDING POPULATION PROBLEM

There has been a great deal of writing and an excellent TV program (CBS) on the sub-

ject of population growth. Along with the Malthusian concept of population growth *vs.* food production, the issues of birth control

and international politics have entered the picture. For an excellent objective review and analysis of the problem, we suggest reading Philip M. Hauser's "Exploding Population—International and Regional Aspects" in *Social Science*, June, 1959. Dr. Hauser is chairman of the Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, and an internationally known expert on population. He has served as Acting Director of the U. S. Census for 1950, and as U. S. Representative to the United Nations Population Commission. Following are some of the highlights of Dr. Hauser's article.

For the first fifty years of the present century, the annual rate of population increase in the world has been one per cent. This seems like an insignificant figure. Yet, as demonstrated by Dr. Hauser, it represents a "fantastic rate of population growth." This is what it means.

If 5,000 years ago the world had started with only 100 people—with "proper sex distribution"—the rate of increase of one per cent a year would have produced a population today of 2.7 billion persons for every square foot of land surface on this earth.

Starting with the population figures as they are today, and projecting the picture into the year 2500, a population rate of increase of 1% would result in over 2500 billion persons. Actually, according to United Nations statisticians and demographers the rate of increase for the year 1958 was 1.7 per cent. Looking ahead to the year 2500, this would mean a population of over 25 trillion persons.

Translating this into meaningful language—namely: "What is the population carrying capacity of the globe?", Dr. Hauser writes that the range of answers to this question is from around five billions to a maximum of fifty billions. To support this population would require "complete control of nuclear or solar energy so that . . . there would be no problem of running out of resources of any kind . . ." Algae, which would have to be grown on the oceans, would probably be the principal source of the world's food supply. This is the picture for 50 billion people,

not 25 trillion people by the year 2500, if the present rate of 1.7 is not checked.

Coming closer to our own day, and considering the problem of population and means of subsistence between now and 1980, "there is no danger whatsoever that mankind is going to die in many large areas because we are going to run out of food . . ." On the other hand, with the present rate of population growth and no appreciable change in technology, there is very little chance of improving "the average level of living . . . in the less economically advanced areas of the world . . ."

Looking at this problem from the point of view of how many people the earth could support at the North American level of living with "the 1950 aggregate world production as the pie which would have to be cut up," the answer is 900 million people. The world population in 1950 was 2.5 billion people.

Solving this problem, Dr. Hauser believes, is not merely one of correcting mal-distribution but rather of increasing the aggregate product. There is still, of course, the problem of available space, if the present rate of increase continues. Perhaps science and space rockets may come to the rescue by making it possible for people to live on the moon, artificially created satellites, or other planets. Dr. Hauser recognizes that

" . . . this sounds like space fiction, but things have been moving so fast that even space fiction might be given some serious consideration."

The international political aspect of this problem of population growth vs. productivity springs from the division of the world population into three factions: the free countries led by the U. S.; the Communist countries led by the U.S.S.R.; and the uncommitted countries made up of so-called neutral nations.

"Curiously enough," writes Dr. Hauser, "this political complexion of the world has an interesting population dimension because about a third of the world's peoples are to be found in each of these three political groups . . ."



"The U.S.S.R. and the U. S. are both engaged in what is an almost deadly contest to win the allegiance of uncommitted peoples. Should either system be successful in winning the allegiance of one-third of the world's peoples who now have no political allegiance, ideologically, to communism or the free way of life; should either be successful, that might well mark the pattern of life, the ideology, political structure, the economic system, the religion or absence of religion that would dominate mankind's way of life for centuries to come. This is what Point Four is all about, as a matter of fact. This is why so many of our people and Western European statesmen are alarmed at the advances the Russians are making—not nearly as alarmed about Lunik or the space rockets as they are about the advances in the minds and hearts of the uncommitted part of the world which are being beckoned to accept Communism as a way of life."

In this struggle for the mind of the uncommitted peoples of the world, it is obvious that the raising of the standard of living is a key bargaining point. Failures to raise living standards "have the very deadly influence [of] . . . disillusionment, making them readier prey to the blandishments of the Communist world. This is why the population problem, or very rapid population growth in the less advanced areas of the world, may offer a serious immediate threat to . . . even the American way of life."

There are some people who insist that the problem is one of productivity rather than one of excess population. They point to the fact that in Europe and in the U. S. rapid population growth actually contributed to increased per capita productivity and made possible the high standards of living in these areas. Dr. Hauser replies to this that the relationship between the number of people and resource in these areas was such that there was a need for more people to exploit the resources and to create markets for the resulting mass system of production. On the other hand, in countries as China and India, the ratio of people to resources and to land is so high that "rapid growth does not pro-

duce economies of scale but on the contrary subjects them to diminishing returns."

Coping with this explosive population problem presents no easy solution because the restriction of population growth, though it can be accomplished in several ways, becomes involved in religious and nationalistic ideals. Nehru, for example, reversed Gandhi's policy of discouraging birth control by instituting efforts to restrict population growth through planned birth control. In Japan, the approach to restricting population growth has been through abortion—a practice "abhorrent to most of Western civilization." Over one-half the conceptions in Japan, according to Dr. Hauser, are terminated by abortion. In Iceland, the goal is accomplished by deferred marriage and by emigration. However, a significant point made by Dr. Hauser is that

" . . . There is today no religious group in the United States or in the world that is opposed to methods of restricting rates of population growth.

"There are differences in concept by religion as to what are the appropriate means . . .

"Which means are utilized is of course the business of each nation, each people, each culture in accordance with its own value system . . ."

Dealing, next, with our own national picture, Dr. Hauser points out that the United States population has doubled five times since 1790—three times every twenty-five years during 1790 to 1815, 1815 to 1840, 1840 to 1865; once during the thirty-five year period 1865 to 1900; and once during the fifty-year period, 1900 to 1950. To show how miscalculations can occur: in the 1930's it was predicted the maximum population growth in the United States would be 165,000,000 and was to be reached at the end of this century. The post-war boom in marriage, however, has made us surpass this period in 1955 and we are now past 175,000,000 people. If the present trend were to continue, in less than one hundred years, by 2050, there will be one billion people in the United States.

Another aspect of the expanding population picture is that concerning the concentration of population in metropolitan areas. Between 1900 and 1950 the metropolitan areas of the United States absorbed 73% of the total population growth. In the last ten years of this period (1940 to 1950) the absorption rate of the total growth was 81%, and in the last five years (1950-1955) the absorption rate was 97% of the total growth.

Dr. Hauser brings to the reader's attention other significant and interesting socioeconomic facts that are part of this expanding population problem, as for example the following one:

"... In 1890 when the last child left home for marriage, the average mother in the United States was a widow ... By 1950 as a result of decreased birth rates, decreased age at marriage, increased concentration of child bearing under age 30, increased longevity when

the last child left home for marriage, in 1950 the average husband and wife in these United States had fourteen years of life left to live together.

"... Those abstract numbers signify millions and millions of husband and wife years together without children ... creating a new demand for land use for housing, for consumer goods of all kinds, for recreation, for religious, for educational, for every conceivable kind of need that didn't exist a scant human generation and a half ago..."

Finally, but again only scratching the surface, Dr. Hauser points to such other by-products of the explosive population growth as the doubling of the college population between now and 1964, the quadrupling of persons of 65 years of age, and the increase in the age structure of the population by almost 77% by 1975. All this will naturally bring with it numerous other changes: sociological, economic, political, and recreational.

## Instructional Materials

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

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### NEW MATERIALS

*World History Book List for High Schools.*

This bulletin of the National Council for the Social Studies serves as a guide to supplementary reading. Prepared by the World History Bibliography Committee of NCSS, it provides a range of titles for both slow and mature readers, arranged both by title and author and by subject. Available for \$1.25 from NCSS, 1201 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

*Materials on Turkey.* A colorful calendar is one of many items available without charge from the Turkish Information Office. Others include pamphlets ranging from Turks in retrospect to Turkish recipes to Turkish Travelogue, or dealing with Turkish literature, women, government, education, and music. Write: Turkish Information Office, 444 E. 52nd St., New York 22, N. Y.

*France and Her People.* An illustrated booklet describing how the French earn a living (farming, winegrowing, fashion, industry) the creative arts, and France today. Also included is a chapter on France's 2000 years of history. Single copies may be obtained from the French Press and Information Office, 972 Fifth Avenue, New York 21, N. Y.

*Education for International Understanding.* This 116-page booklet published by UNESCO suggests classroom procedures, practices, and teaching materials to foster international understanding, and explains how to fit them into the curriculum. Contents are drawn from schools in different parts of the world based on reports prepared by classroom teachers. Booklet is \$1.50 from the Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y.

## FILMS

*Poland.* 53 min. Sound. Black and white. Sale/rent. Textfilm Division, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 330 W. 42 St., New York 36, N. Y. "See It Now Series." Changes in Poland since the Poznan riots, including new religious and educational freedom, political unrest, rock-and-roll, etc.

*Turkey: A Strategic Land and Its People.* 11 min. Sound. Black and white, color. Sale/rent. Coronet Instructional Films, 65 E. South Water Street, Chicago 1, Ill. Depicts the natural resources, geography, and changes that are taking place in modern Turkey.

*Turkey.* 10 min. Sound. Black and white, color. Sale/rent. Encyclopedia Britannica Films, Inc., 1150 Wilmette Ave., Wilmette, Ill. Describes the geographical features, the people, the industries, and activities that are making this country an outstanding example of progress and enlightenment.

*Iran: Between Two Worlds.* 15 min. Sound. Black and white, color. Sale/rent. Encyclopedia Britannica Films, Inc. Reviews the desert peoples, skilled craftsmen, oil and other natural resources that are so unique to this country.

*The Story of the St. Lawrence Seaway.* 13 min. Black and white, color. Sale. Textfilm Dept., McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 330 W. 42 St., New York, N. Y. This is a vivid record of the development of one of the world's great waterways. Throughout its presentation it dramatizes the importance of this new waterway as a symbol of the partnership of two great countries in building it and in sharing its present and future benefits.

*The War of 1812.* 15 min. Black and white, color. Sale. McGraw-Hill Book Co. This new film attempts to shed light on a neglected but important period in the growth of our nation, and to answer some puzzling questions about the War of 1812, the least familiar of all the wars in our history. At the conclusion of the film, the narrator sums up the facts that have been presented, and evaluates the importance of this war in American history.

*Section 16.* 13½ min. Black and white. Sale/rental. Press and Radio Relations Division, National Education Association, Washington, D. C. The development of education in the U. S. is traced from the early Dame Schools of New England, to colonial schools of Pennsylvania, the one-room schools of the Middle West, and the early mission schools of the Far West.

## FILMSTRIPS

*Iran.* 28 fr. Color. Sale. Eye Gate House, Inc., 146-01 Archer Avenue, Jamaica, N. Y. Describes the physical features, customs and history of an interesting country.

*Iran.* 81 fr. Sale. *Life Magazine*, Filmstrip Division, Rockefeller Center, New York 20, N. Y. Shows discovery of oil, ancient cities, nationalistic movement following World War II.

*Turkey.* 28 fr. Color. Sale. EyeGate House, Inc. Describes the physical features of Turkey, and its products, cities, and how dry regions are being irrigated.

*India: Democracy in Asia.* 52 fr. Black and white. Sale. Office of Educational Activities, *The N. Y. Times*, 229 W. 43 St., New York, 36, N. Y. Depicts India's leadership of the neutralist bloc, the steps to overcome backwardness and the heavy hand of the past, India's needs for aid, relations with the U. S. and Russia, and the nation's role as the crucible of democracy in Asia.

*Education Around The World.* 62 fr. Black and white. Sale. World Affairs Center, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn 10, N. Y. Tells the story of education in many parts of the world.

*Beauty Around The World.* 60 fr. Black and white. Sale. World Affairs Center. Seen are pictures of beauty from all over the world, including natural scenes, pets, products of craftsmen, and colorful clothes.

*Profile of Pakistan.* 50 fr. Color. Sale. World Affairs Center. Describes the land, people, work, government, religions, and social services of the sixth largest nation of the world.

*Profile of Puerto Rico.* 50 fr. Color. Sale. World Affairs Center. Shows the land and the products, people, work, and govern-



ment—with an emphasis upon the remarkable progress accomplished through “Operation Bootstrap” in recent years.

*Profile of Nigeria*. 50 fr. Color. Sale. World Affairs Center. A timely filmstrip on the largest country in the African continent and the latest to achieve independence. Portrays the contrasts between the old and the new in all sections of the country.

#### RECORDINGS

*Voices of the American Revolution*. Edited and narrated by Howard H. Peckham;

Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., one 12", 33 1/3 rpm, \$4.00. Here is a good opportunity for 12th year American history students to make rewarding contact with source materials. The voices are those of American and British students at the Univ. of Michigan, but the lines they read are the lines of revolutionary figures who held the stage from 1775 to 1783. The dramatic readings are linked by a firm thread of background commentary.

## Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

*Head, Department of Social Studies, Abraham Lincoln High School, Philadelphia*

*The Conservation Fight from Theodore Roosevelt to the Tennessee Valley Authority*. By Judson King. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1959. Pp. 316. \$6.00.

The title of this book is somewhat misleading in that it suggests a broader approach than is actually the case. While it gives valuable light to certain other aspects of the progressive struggle to promote conservational legislation at the Federal level it is more narrowly an intimate history of the long story of the backgrounds of TVA. Starting with the first Muscle Shoals Power Bill (1897) the author traces the development of water power as a national issue, with particular attention to details of the political battle between private power companies and the advocates of public power over the Tennessee Valley area.

Judson King was an influential actor in this story and, as Director of the National Popular Government League that was so instrumental in promoting the acceptance of political reforms such as the initiative and referendum, he had frequent and intimate contact with conservational leaders such as Gifford Pinchot and George Norris. He was particularly close to Senator Norris, perhaps the one Senator most important in the long

fight to save the waters of the Tennessee for popular control and public benefit. The author documents his account with many primary sources and reports on a number of points accruing in his personal experiences that have never before been in print. While objective to a certain degree the book cannot be called unbiased. It is certainly written from a point of view and it is one that paints the traditional Progressive view of the idealists, liberal social planners, who had such a difficult time in overcoming the forces of selfish materialism that had gained near monopolistic power in the United States and who threatened democracy itself, let alone the future of our natural resources.

Readers interested in the roots of the conservation movement might like to contrast this report with the recent appraisal by S. P. Hays (*Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency*) who claims that rather than a struggle between the “people” and the “interests” the movement was an attempt of scientists and technicians to apply their views to the development and use of natural resources. King, who has been called “the last of a notable company of social reformers,” presents 14 “new” ideas that are still basic and important in the continuing movement that

present and future generations must carry on to preserve and extend the principles and policies of conservation. While several of these lend credence to Hay's interpretation they also reveal that the issues of conservation are much deeper and all-inclusive and that "scientific planners" would never have attained most of their aims without intense leadership from other sources and the emerging popular support found in the country in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries.

School teachers are working with a new generation that has never experienced the heated controversies (except in isolated instances such as Hell's Canyon) that marked our political and economic life from the Square Deal to the New Deal. In an era when the modern day Republican Party has adopted most of the principles and practices fought for so bitterly by progressives of a by-gone day, youth need exposure to the ideals behind the concept of a democracy ever unfinished, of a Republic in need of continuing strengthening and improvement. Books as this, that present day conservational leaders claim fill a real need, should be part of the educational experience of all future citizens.

RICHARD E. GROSS

Stanford University  
Stanford, California

*Advise and Consent.* By Allen Drury. New York: Doubleday, 1959. Pp. 616. \$5.75.

Not since the musical, "Of Thee I Sing," and the drama, "Born Yesterday," have we been treated to such attractively packaged political science in fiction form as we find in this novel of the U. S. Senate. The purist may gag a trifle at the twist of the constitutional phrase "advice and consent," but before he has seen the new president off to the crucial Summit Conference in the final pages he will have accepted the verb form in place of the more usual nouns.

As supplementary reading for advanced high school students or for most college students this account of the struggle of the president and his Senate supporters to secure confirmation of his appointee as Secretary of State is superb. No historical drama ever

breathed more excitement into epic struggles than this best-selling novel by a Washington correspondent breathes into parliamentary battles.

The book is factual and accurate in its reporting of Senatorial procedures and honest in its assessment of the forces that motivate men in public office. The same quality that has contributed so much to its popularity will make it a valuable supplement to an advanced social studies course. It is the diligence and sincerity with which it seeks to answer such basic questions as "What constitutes effective leadership?", "How far should a Senator go in supporting party policy of which he personally disapproves?" and "How do we reconcile the realities of human frailty with the ideals of public service?" Underlying all of these is the insistent query that the young must always seek to answer, even though the aged may despair, "What is integrity?"

DONALD W. ROBINSON

Carlmont High School  
Belmont, California

*The West Point Atlas of American Wars.*

Chief editor: Colonel Vincent J. Esposito.  
New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1959.  
Two folio volumes, boxed; \$47.50.

Three or four decades ago it was commonly agreed, even by professional historians, that military history was of little importance, had been much over-rated in the past, and was to be increasingly ignored in the future. In part, this feeling was brought about by an exaggerated attention to the history of warfare during the preceding century, in part by the new emphasis upon social or cultural history.

Today many historians are changing their opinion. They recognize that while military history may have been exaggerated at one time, it has certainly been slighted since 1930. Furthermore, World War II and the Korean conflict have given us a new realization of the relationship between national policy, war, and world-wide responsibility.

There is yet another aspect to military history, important for the secondary school teacher of social studies. Any teacher worth

his salt knows that there is little understanding and no real retention of learning in the absence of interest. Such a teacher also knows that adolescent boys are intrigued by war—the movement of troops, the swift clash of arms, the excitement and uncertainty of battle. Not because war is desirable, therefore, but because it is both an integral part of history and a stimulator of interest for many adolescents, the secondary school history teacher cannot afford to ignore or slight it.

The volumes discussed in this review belong in every high school library. Prepared by the Department of Military Art and Engineering of the United States Military Academy at West Point, these two huge, folio volumes make available to public school teachers, for the first time, data and maps used in classes at West Point.

More than four hundred three- and four-color maps show details of every major battle in American history. The first, and smaller, volume contains one hundred fifty-eight maps covering the Colonial wars, the Revolution, War of 1812, Mexican War, Civil War and the Spanish-American War. The second volume provides seventy-one maps on World War I, one hundred seventy maps on World War II, and fifteen maps on the action in Korea. Each war is treated in detail; for example, one finds here many maps showing the Russo-German campaigns of the first and second World Wars. These volumes, therefore, have great usefulness for teachers of World History. Supplementing these maps are more than a quarter of a million words of descriptive and analytical text.

These are the finest battle maps this reviewer has ever seen. They show changes of position from day to day—sometimes oftener. They are free of the type of detail that confuses and clutters, yet they give a clear picture of topography. The use of color, symbols and names of unit commanders lends realism and clarity to each situation.

Scholars will argue about some of the assertions in the text, and students of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries will regret that maps for the battles of those

years are often smaller and less readable than those for the period after 1850. Those are only comparative criticisms. This is a magnificent work. There is nothing comparable to it in our literature.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

State University of New York

College of Education at Cortland, N. Y.

*Audio-Visual Materials and Techniques* (2nd edition). By James S. Kinder. New York: American Book Co., 1959. Pp. 592. \$7.00.

This second edition is considerably expanded over the first which was published in 1959. In fact, the author is quite correct in stating that it is a new book. It includes a re-arrangement and a re-writing of chapters. This necessitated an extended treatment of audio-visual problems in the light of today's needs. There are also many illustrations, black and white as well as color, which enhance the material presented. Many of the illustrations are indeed new. A distinct new feature is the short outline that begins each chapter.

Professor Kinder places major emphasis on the practical application of materials and techniques in the classroom. His objective has been to produce a sound textbook. Like its predecessor, this book has been written to meet the needs of graduate students, audio-visual directors, building co-ordinators, teachers, curriculum leaders, administrators, religious education directors, and industrial training aids leaders.

Each chapter has a selected list of challenging questions for further study, simple laboratory exercises, lists of materials to see, hear, and experiment with; research references; and a glossary of technical terms which appear in each chapter. In the appendix are found evaluation forms for evaluating films, filmstrips, tapes and records, television, and a teacher's guide for a television program, a check-out for motion picture projectors, film classifications, and titles, a classified list of film sources, and addresses of film, filmstrip and record producers and distributors mentioned in the text.

The author has some extremely good chapters. The chapter on "Educational Record-



ings" is broadly conceived, well researched, and authoritatively presented. The chapter on "Room Environment and Use of Color" is highly interesting and some of the illustrations quite breath-taking. The chapter on "Administering the Audio-Visual Program" is a masterful statement of principles essential to the proper functioning of an audio-visual program. The role of the audio-visual director, the building co-ordinator, the superintendent, the curriculum leader in an audio-visual program are depicted clearly. The need for pre-service teacher education and an in-service teacher education program are discussed candidly and recommendations offered. The role of public relations in audio-visual education is briefly stated. Yet what is stated is quite noteworthy and commendable.

It seems to the reviewer that audio-visual education in the years ahead will become increasingly important. With a rapidly increasing school population, instructional materials will be relied on for more effective use of class time. Pre-service and in-service teachers, curriculum leaders, and administrators have a professional obligation to become fully acquainted with this field. This text will provide all who are interested with the knowledge and know-how essential to make teaching challenging, meaningful and dynamic in this atomic age.

IRWIN ECKHAUSER

Washington Junior High School  
Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

*Mohawk Baronet; Sir William Johnson of New York.* By James Thomas Flexner. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959. Pp. 400. \$6.00.

For four decades the State Historian of New York has authorized the periodic publication of volumes in the *Sir William Johnson Papers*. Volume twelve, published in 1957 under the skillful editorship of Dr. Milton Hamilton, completed the series. With this vast storehouse of material available to any writer, and with a rich background of research and writing in the American Colonial period, James Thomas Flexner provides us with a well-rounded account of one of the

frontier's most paradoxical and lusty figures.

A poor Irish immigrant with a wealthy uncle, young Johnson soon found himself on the New York frontier. Here his enthusiasm, quick mind, boundless energy and quick eye for a fast dollar soon brought him to wealth and prominence. In the next three decades he became a man of major importance. One of the wealthiest men in the Colonies, he owned and controlled vast areas of forest land. An adopted Iroquois chief, his influence with the Indians was never equalled in his own time. A baronet, he lived in medieval splendor and autocracy. A general, he won notable victories over the French at Lake George and Niagara. A statesman and diplomat, his influence was extensive and often decisive.

Mr. Flexner has done an amazing amount of research and has developed genuine understanding of the period. His style is generally facile and often exciting. Scholars will long argue over some of his conclusions, but few will deny that this is the best life available of a very important and too-little known figure. High school teachers of American history will find this especially valuable.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

State University of New York  
College of Education at Cortland, N. Y.

*Highway of Destiny.* By J. P. Bertrand. New York: Vantage Press, 1959. Pp. 301. \$4.50.

The "highway of destiny" of this book is the combined water and land passageway connecting Lake Superior with the western lands of Canada. More specifically, it consists of the Kaministiquia River, Dog Lake and Lac des Milles Lacs route connecting Lake Superior with the Saskatchewan river system of the Western Canadian plains. In broader perspective, it is an essential part of the great system of water communication which in the past linked Canada together in spite of the formidable geographic barriers running from north to south.

In view of the transcendent importance of this water system of communication in the pre-railroad period of Canadian history, and especially this particular segment of it, the title is not grandiose or pretentious. For

much of the history of both western development and national growth has centered on this linkage between the eastern and western river systems. From the days of the *coureurs de bois* to the Trans-Canada highway, it has been a significant area of Canadian geography and history.

Unfortunately the author has not been able to tell effectively of the part that this region played in the story of Canadian development. His account of the pulsating currents of history which have passed along it is fuzzy and confused. There is a basic lack of organization in the account; far too many extraneous details are dragged in; and far, far too many names are included. Even the most clearly marked of highways sometimes requires the consultation of a road-map. There seem to be neither markings nor maps for this particular highway.

DONALD C. GORDON

University of Maryland  
College Park, Maryland

*Learning To Work in Groups.* By Matthew B. Miles. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York 1959. Pp. 285. \$5.00.

This book sets out to study the mechanics of group behavior and to outline the methods of training for group leadership. It is intended primarily for teachers, administrators, education instructors, and others interested in the group process in education.

It is assumed here that leadership is a learned trait, and one shared throughout the group. The training activities which are suggested bear this in mind and place the readers in the position of being participant problem solvers. A valuable extension of this is the emphasis placed on the role of the trainer, since most of the interested readers are likely to carry these experiences back to other working groups within their own professional areas.

As a potential text book this work is somewhat limited. The groups it involves are confined to small, face-to-face groups, normally made up of peers. Classroom situations and groups that do not come into physical proximity do not fall within its province. It

is necessary, too, that a student who studies from this book should feel free to act out roles as a participant.

This is, however, a very commendable volume that is well written, indexed, and documented. It should appeal to the educator who seeks to improve the functioning of committees, faculties and other working groups.

JOSEPH W. BROWNELL

Cortland State College of Education  
Cortland, New York

*The Papers of Benjamin Franklin.* Edited by Leonard W. Labaree et al. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1959. Pp. 400. \$7.50.

For almost a decade (it lacks but a few months) students of the eighteenth century have been reveling in the superbly edited and published *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*. Now, jointly sponsored by Yale University and the American Philosophical Society, we have the first volume of the papers of Jefferson's only American peer among the thinkers and writers of his time. For a number of years Mr. Labaree and his assistants have been investigating Franklin manuscripts, photocopying entire collections, occasionally discovering exciting documents whose contents or even existence was not previously known. They have already brought together more than 25,000 manuscript pieces, in photostat or microfilm.

This first published volume covers the years from his birth in January, 1706, to the end of the year, 1734. Few would expect to find the appearance of a world-renowned figure during these early years. Yet Franklin had, by 1734, made his first trip to London, married Deborah Rogers, become Grand Master of the Masons, purchased the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, organized the Junto, and founded *Poor Richard's Almanac*. Readers of this volume will discover the beginnings of an interest in science, an indication of diplomatic astuteness, and the great variety of interests, so many of which he would later master.

High school teachers of American history should purchase this volume for their school

or classroom library, should read in it enough to learn the flavor of the youthful Franklin, and should send their students to browse in it. Admirers of Franklin—and who is not?—will await with eagerness the appearance of other volumes, hoping and expecting to find therein the same scholarship and intelligent and resourceful editing that mark this beginning.

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State University of New York  
College of Education at Cortland, N. Y.

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*Mathew Carey, Pamphleteer for Freedom.* By Jane F. Hindman. New York: P. J. Kennedy and Sons, 1960. Pp. xi, 190. \$2.50.

*Studies in the Theory of Money, 1690-1776.* By Douglas Vickers. Philadelphia, Pa.: Chilton Company, 1959. Pp. xiii, 313. \$6.50.

*Sixteen Exceptional Americans. Biographical Sketches.* By Eva Hood Hoyer. New York: Vantage Press, 1959. Pp. 390. \$5.00.

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*John Dewey: Dictionary of Education.* Edited by Ralph B. Winn. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959. Pp. 150. \$3.75.

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*Dictionary of Social Science.* By John T. Zadrozny. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1959. Pp. 376. \$6.00.

*Australia and the United Nations. National Studies on International Organization.* New York: Manhattan Publishing Company, 1959. Pp. xxxi, 423. \$3.00.

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*The Overseas Americans.* By Harlan Cleveland, Gerald J. Mangone and John Clarke Adams. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960. Pp. xxiii, 318. \$5.95.

*Images of Man.* By C. Wright Mills. New York: George Braziller, 1960. Pp. xviii, 534. \$7.50.

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*Waging Peace. A Swiss Experience.* By William Bross Lloyd, Jr. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1959. Pp. x, 101. \$2.50.

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# Index

## The Social Studies, Volume LI

Continuing Historical Outlook

January-December, 1960

### AUTHORS

- Aiken, Richard and Aiken, John, A Footnote to "No Taxation Without Representation," 224.
- Appel, John C., The Treatment of Childhood Years In American Biography, 215.
- Arone, Frank T., The Human and the Historical, 62, Essential Changes for the United Nations In the 1960's, 210.
- Bahou, Victor, Anomy and Desegregation, 43.
- Barth, James L., Teaching Civil Disobedience is in Harmony with Civic Education, 250.
- Boodish, Hyman M., The Teachers' Page, 26, 69, 106, 145, 181, 228, 267.
- Boykin, Leander L., Why All This Fuss about Federal Aid to Education? 83.
- Brown, Ralph Adams and Mizruchi, Ephraim Harold, Health and Medicine in the Social Studies, 49.
- Burrows, Albert H., The Sociology of the Political Community and Peace, 260.
- Cooke, Edward F., Origin and Development of Party Platforms, 174.
- Delaney, Arthur A., A New Capital for Brazil, 60.
- Dykstra, John W., The Career-Family Conflict, 103.
- Eckhauser, Irwin, Instructional Materials, 30, 72, 110, 149, 185, 232, 270.
- Graham, Grace, Sociodrama as a Teaching Technique, 257.
- Gross, Richard E., and Ovard, Glen F., A Review of Aims and Objects in Social Education, 170.
- Hahn, Walter, The Place of the Social Sciences in the European High-School Curriculum, 252.
- Harper, Robert W., Southeast Asia—Crossroads of the East, 128.
- Harr, David W., Book Reviews and Book Notes, 32, 75, 112, 151, 188, 234, 272.
- Horowitz, Edward A., Service Center for Teachers of History, 47. Beethoven and the Call to Freedom: A New Dimension in the Teaching of History, 142.
- Irish, Marian D., The American Creed and Three Social Scientists, 9.
- Jirak, Ivan L., Ecuadorian Railroad, 100.
- Kuhinka, Ernest M Gajary, Dictatorship—A Sociological Analysis Of the Communist Tactic and Strategy, 177.
- Larson, Allan, Soviet Education in Perspective, 88.
- Levison, Melvin E., Mercator vs. Polar Projection: World of Difference, 133.
- Lottick, Kenneth V., Indigenous Religions in the United States, 20.
- McAulay, J. D., Two Major Problems in the Teaching of the Social Studies, 135.
- Mizruchi, Ephraim Harold and Brown, Ralph Adams, Health and Medicine in the Social Studies, 49.
- Monier, Robert B., Our Social Studies Curriculum Needs Re-examination, 163.
- Moyer, Haverly O., A Neglected Skill, 94.
- Norton, Monte S., The Use of Self-Evaluation in the Social Studies, 3.
- Olcott, William, An Outline for the Teaching of Local Government, 15.
- Ovard, Glen F. and Gross, Richard E., A Review of Aims and Objects In Social Education, 170.
- Pfretzschner, Paul A., "New Viewpoints" and the Paperback, 140.
- Punke, Harold H., Inherent Human Worth Fact or Myth, 165.
- Radabaugh, Jack, Charles A. Beard's Economic Interpretations of the Constitution: A Consensus, 243.
- Radabaugh, J. S., Speech Activities in Today's Schools, 12.
- Roucek, Joseph S., Natural Endowments, Merit and Achievement and Education As Prestige Factors, 96.
- Thornton, E. W., Is European Union in the Making? 203.
- White, James B., Lord North—1778, 53.
- Winthrop, Henry, Interdisciplinary Research In Economics and Psychology, 123.
- Wrigg, William, The National Conventions: An American Phenomenon, 130.

## ARTICLES

- American Biography, The Treatment of Childhood Years In, John C. Appel, 215.
- American Creed and Three Social Scientists, The, Marian D. Irish, 9.
- Anomy and Desegregation, Victor Bahou, 43.
- As the Editor Sees It, 2, 42, 82, 122, 162, 202, 242.
- Asia—Crossroads of the East, Southeast, Robert W. Harper, 128.
- Beard's Economic Interpretations of the Constitution: A Consensus Charles A. Jack Radabaugh, 243.
- Beethoven and the Call to Freedom: A New Dimension in the Teaching of History, Edward A. Horowitz, 142.
- Book Reviews and Book Notes, David W. Harr, 32, 75, 112, 151, 188, 234, 272.
- Brazil, A New Capital for, Arthur A. Delaney, 60.
- Career-Family Conflict, The, John W. Dykstra, 103.
- Charles A. Beard's Economic Interpretations of the Constitution: A Consensus, Jack Radabaugh, 243.
- Civic Education, Teaching Civil Disobedience is in Harmony with, James L. Barth, 250.
- Current Publications Received, 40, 80, 120, 158, 198, 238, 277.
- Dictatorship—A Sociological Analysis Of the Communist Tactic and Strategy, Ernest M. Gajary Kuhinka, 177.
- Economics and Psychology, Interdisciplinary Research In, Henry Winthrop, 123.
- Ecuadorian Railroad, Ivan L. Jirak, 100.
- Education, A Review of Aims and Objects In Social, Richard E. Gross and Glen F. Ovard, 170.
- European High-School Curriculum, The Place of the Social Sciences in the, Walter Hahn, 252.
- European Union in the Making? Is, E. W. Thornton, 203.
- Federal Aid to Education?, Why All This Fuss About, Leander L. Boykin, 83.
- Footnote to "No Taxation Without Representation," A. Richard Aiken and John Aiken, 224.
- Health and Medicine in the Social Studies, Ephraim Harold Mizruchi and Ralph Adams Brown, 49.
- Helpful Classroom Aids, 38, 78, 118, 158, 197, 237, 277.
- Historical, The Human and the, Frank T. Arone, 62.
- Inherent Human Worth Fact or Myth, Harold H. Punke, 165.
- Instructional Materials, Irwin Eckhauser, 30, 72, 110, 149, 185, 232, 270.
- Local Government, An Outline for the Teaching of, William Olcott, 15.
- Lord North—1778, James B. White, 53.
- Mercator vs. Polar Projection: World of Difference, Melvin E. Levison, 133.
- National Conventions: An American Phenomenon, The, William Wrigg, 130.
- Natural Endowments, Merit and Achievement and Education as Prestige Factors, Joseph S. Roucek, 96.
- "New Viewpoints" and the Paperback, Paul A. Pfretzschner, 140.
- Party Platforms, Origin and Development of, Edward F. Cooke, 174.
- Re-examination, Our Social Studies Curriculum Needs, Robert B. Monier, 163.
- Self-Evaluation in the Social Studies, The Use of, Monte S. Norton, 3.
- Service Center for Teachers of History, Edward A. Horowitz, 47.
- Skill, A Neglected, Haverly O. Moyer, 94.
- Sociodrama as a Teaching Technique, Grace Graham, 257.
- Sociology of the Political Community and Peace, The, Albert H. Burrows, 260.
- Soviet Education in Perspective, Allan Larson, 88.
- Speech Activities in Today's Schools, J. S. Radabaugh, 12.
- Teachers' Page, the, Hyman M. Boodish, 26, 69, 106, 145, 181, 228, 267.
- Teaching of the Social Studies, Two Major Problems in the, J. D. McAulay, 135.
- United Nations In the 1960's, Essential Changes for the, Frank T. Arone, 210.
- United States, Indigenous Religions in the, Kenneth V. Lottick, 20.

## BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES

*Arranged Alphabetically by Author's Name*

(Reviewer's Name in Parenthesis)

- Barnes, Harry Elmer and Teeters, Negley K., New Horizons in Criminology, 34. (Anne Bishop)
- Barron, Richard, Parties and Politics in Modern France, 153. (Joseph S. Roucek)
- Bee, Lawrence S., Marriage and Family Relations: An Interdisciplinary Approach, 75. (Wayne C. Neely)
- Bertrand, J. P., Highway of Destiny, 275. (Donald C. Gordon)
- Brewster, R. Wallace, Government in Modern Society, 114. (Norman D. Palmer)
- Bruun, Geoffrey, Revolution and Reaction, 1848-1852. A Mid-Century Watershed, 116. (Alfred D. Low)
- Countryman, Vern, Douglas of the Supreme Court: A Selection of His Opinions, 195. (Paul K. Conkin)
- Cox, Oliver C., The Foundations of Capitalism, 116. (Allan G. Gruchy)
- Cronin, George W., A Primer on Communism: 200 Questions and Answers, 115. (Alfred D. Low)
- Dobriansky, Lev E., Veblenism: A New Critique, 78. (Mahlon H. Hellerich)
- Drummond, Muriel Jean and Platt, Nathaniel, Our World Through the Ages, 77. (Sydney Spiegel)
- Drury, Allen, Advise and Consent, 273. (Donald W. Robinson)

- Esposito, Vincent J., *The West Point Atlas of American Wars*, 273. (Ralph A. Brown)
- Ferrero, William and Lombroso, Caesar, *The Female Offender*, 117. (John M. Wilson)
- Flexner, James T., *Mohawk Baronet: Sir William Johnson of New York*, 275. (Ralph A. Brown)
- Friendenberg, Edgar Z., *The Vanishing Adolescent*, 194. (Donald W. Robinson)
- Furfey, Paul Hanly and Walsh, Mary Elizabeth, *Social Problems and Social Action*, 115. (Kenneth V. Lottick)
- Grabner, D. A., *Crisis Diplomacy: A History of U. S. Intervention Policies and Practices*, 114. (Joseph S. Roucek)
- Haring, Albert and Yoder, Wallace O., *Trading Stamp Practice and Pricing Policy*, 189. (Dwight L. Gentry)
- Hatch, Alden, *The Wadsworths of the Genesee*, 35. (Ralph Adams Brown)
- Hathorn, Guy B., Zink, Harold and Penniman, Howard R., *American Government and Politics: National, State, and Local*, 188. (Norman D. Palmer)
- Hawley, Don, *The Nature of Things*, 151. (John Alan Baum)
- Heimerl, Ramon P. and Wilhelms, Fred T., *Consumer Economics: Principles and Problems*, 236. (Isadore Abrams)
- Hendry, James McLeod, *Treaties and Federal Constitutions*, 193. (Norman D. Palmer)
- Honigmann, John J., *The World of Man*, 194. (Shirley K. Deshon)
- Hoover, Herbert, *The Ordeal of Woodrow Wilson*, 190. (Ellis A. Johnson)
- Kilic, Altemur, *Turkey and the World*, 193. (Joseph S. Roucek)
- Kinder, James S., *Audio-Visual Materials and Techniques*, 274. (Irwin Eckhauser)
- King, Judson, *The Conservation Fight from Theodore Roosevelt to the Tennessee Valley Authority*, 272. (Richard E. Gross)
- Koerner, James D., *The Case for Basic Education*, 152. (D. W. Robinson)
- Kuhner, Hans, *Encyclopedia of the Papacy*, 117. (Richard E. Gross)
- Labaree, L. W., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 276. (Ralph A. Brown)
- Leidecker, Kurt F., *Nietzsche Unpublished Letters*, 196. (Joseph S. Roucek)
- Lewenstein, Morris, and Starratt, Edith E., *Our American Government Today*, 152. (Norman D. Palmer)
- Liebman, Rebekah, R., and Young, Gertrude A., *The Growth of America*, 32. (W. H. Shannon)
- Lombroso, Caesar and Ferrero, William, *The Female Offender*, 117. (John M. Wilson)
- Lower, Arthur R. M., *Canadians in the Making: a Social History of Canada*, 36. (William E. Miller)
- Marx, Karl, *A World Without Jews*, 38. (Richard H. Bauer)
- Mazour, Anatole G. and Peoples, John M., *Men and Nations*, 75. (William Hunter Shannon)
- McInnis, Edgar, *Canada: A Political and Social History*, 192. (Donald C. Gordon)
- Merrill, Francis E., *Courtship and Marriage*, 156. (Wayne C. Neely)
- Miles, M. B., *Learning To Work in Groups*, 276. (Joseph W. Brownell)
- Milham, Charles G., *Gallant Pelham*, 235. (Roland N. Stromberg)
- Miller, John C., *Origins of the American Revolution*, 112. (Ralph Adams Brown)
- Oden, Melita H. and Terman, Lewis M., *The Gifted Group at Mid-Life*, 154. (Kenneth V. Lottick)
- Penniman, Howard R., Zink, Harold and Hathorn, Guy B., *American Government and Politics: National, State, and Local*, 188. (Norman D. Palmer)
- Peoples, John M. and Mazour Anatole G., *Men and Nations*, 75. (William Hunter Shannon)
- Platt, Nathaniel and Drummond, Muriel Jean, *Our World Through the Ages*, 77. (Sydney Spiegel)
- Sabine, William H., *Historical Memoirs From July 12, 1776 to July 25, 1778 of William Smith*, 189. (Ralph Adams Brown)
- Smead, Elmer E., *Freedom of Speech by Radio and Television*, 234. (Theodore W. Parsons)
- Starratt, Edith E. and Lewenstein, Morris, *Our American Government Today*, 152. (Norman D. Palmer)
- Terman, Lewis M. and Oden, Melita H., *The Gifted Group at Mid-Life*, 154. (Kenneth V. Lottick)
- Thane, Elswyth, *The Family Quarrel: A Journey Through the Years of the Revolution*, 192. (Ralph Adams Brown)
- Unity of Mankind, *The*, 33. (Richard H. Bauer)
- Walsh, Mary Elizabeth, and Furfey, Paul Hanly, *Social Problems and Social Action*, 115. (Kenneth V. Lottick)
- Walsh, Warren B., *Russia and the Soviet Union; A Modern History*, 113. (Alfred D. Low)
- Wasset, B. B., *Group Psychoanalysis*, 188. (Albert Rosen)
- Weingast, David E., *This is Communism*, 112. (Richard H. Bauer)
- Wender, Herbert, *The Growth of Modern Thought and Culture*, 76. (Kenneth V. Lottick)
- Wilhelms, Fred T. and Heimerl, Ramon P., *Consumer Economics: Principles and Problems*, 236. (Isadore Abrams)
- Yoder, Wallace O. and Haring, Albert, *Trading Stamp Practice and Pricing Policy*, 189. (Dwight L. Gentry)
- Zink, Harold, Penniman, Howard R., and Hathorn, Guy B., *American Government and Politics: National, State, and Local*, 188. (Norman D. Palmer)



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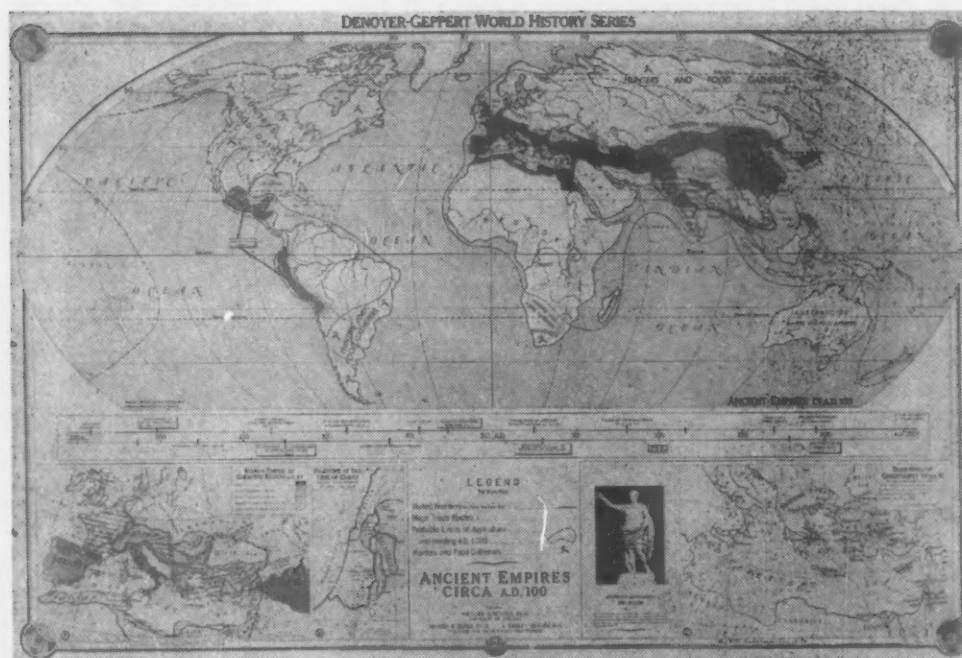
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